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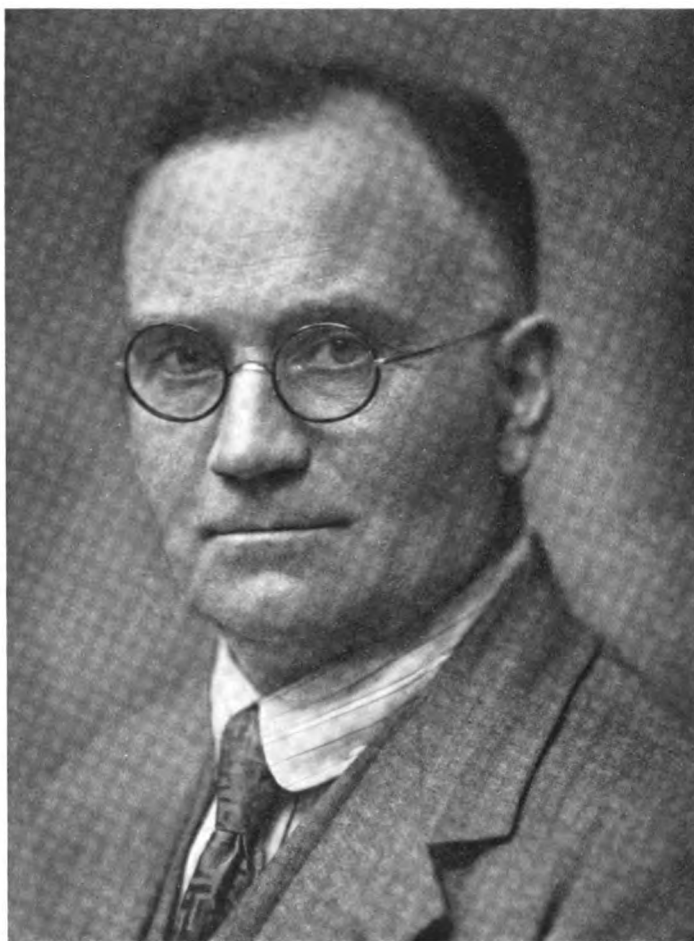
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JOHAN GUNNAR ANDERSSON IN MEMORIAM

Johan Gunnar Andersson died on the 29th of October 1960. By his death the world lost a prominent scholar in the fields of geology and geography, and an epoch-making pioneer in Chinese archaeology.

Andersson was born in Knista, central Sweden, in 1874 and went as a student to the Upsala University in 1892; in 1901 he became an assistant professor of geology and obtained his doctor's degree. By then he had already taken part in or himself led scientific expeditions to several arctic islands, and in 1901—1903 he was one of the leading members of Otto Nordenskjöld's great antarctic expedition. He took

a keen and active part in researches on the scientific materials from this highly successful expedition, and he was soon recognized as a very prominent geologist. From 1906 to 1914 he was director of the Geological Survey of Sweden, and then went out to China, becoming mining adviser to the Geological Survey of China from 1914 to 1924.

During these years he developed an intense scholarly activity. He was one of the men who won the highest merit in finding and investigating the famous grottoes of Choukoutien and the discovery of the "Peking man". An expert in palaeontology and an enthusiastic explorer, he was successful in making great discoveries in various regions of North China of palaeontological materials, mainly fossil mammals, and his finds, shared between the Chinese Survey and the Upsala university, have turned out to be of paramount value.

During his years in Peking, Andersson had excellent opportunities of associating with the foremost scholars and writers belonging to the cultural centre in the Chinese capital, and he formed cordial friendships with men like V. K. Ting, Wong Wen-hao, Hu Shih and others. He enlisted their interest and important help when, in connection with his geological and palaeontological explorations, he started searching for vestiges of early Man and prehistoric cultures in China — at that time an entirely unworked field.

In the year 1918 Andersson had traced a quantity of "dragon bones", i. e. fossil mammals, to some Chinese pharmacies as coming from the village of Yang-shao ts'un in Mien-ch'i hien in Honan, and it resulted in rich palaeontological finds. This encouraged him to make a search for remains of neolithic Man in the same region, and in 1921 he had located a site close to Yang-shao ts'un, where he found a rich store of stone artifacts and painted pottery; this was, in fact, the first find of a neolithic village in China proper.

This startling discovery — an epoch-making find — was hailed with keen interest by the leading men of the Geological Survey, and Andersson was given facilities to pursue these new and sensational researches on a large scale. To begin with, he enlarged his investigations in Honan by examining a neolithic village, Pu-chao chai, and several other sites, with priceless results. His signal success as a pioneer in the field of Chinese prehistoric archaeology encouraged him to conceive a far more ambitious plan. He organized and carried through a great expedition, lasting 18 months, to the far west of China, the province of Kansu, during which he localized and examined some 50 sites (villages and necropolises) of prehistoric China, and brought back to Peking an enormous material of ceramics and artifacts. Andersson's remarkable success during this enterprise was due on the one hand to his skill and experience as a geologist who could read the topography as an open book and recognize the probable locations of prehistoric settlements, on the other hand to his remarkable courage, energy, perseverance and faculty of cooperating with a number of talented Chinese assistants. A general survey of the principal results of his field researches has been given in his monumental "Researches on the Prehistory of the Chinese" (BMFEA Vol. 15), and several detailed monographs have been published by him in our series (vols. 17, 19).

In 1925 Andersson returned to Sweden, and he brought back with him the bulk of his finds from the Kansu expedition: he had an agreement with the Chinese authorities, who generously allowed the transfer on the condition that comprehensive series of duplicates should be returned to China after examination (a stipulation which Andersson faithfully observed). But besides these voluminous prehistoric materials, the keen collector brought home a first consignment of Chinese archaeological specimens from the early historical periods, notably artifacts from the Huai-style period. The Swedish Government at once recognized the high value of these acquisitions, and in 1926 Parliament voted the funds necessary for the founding of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, and a professorial chair for Andersson of Far-Eastern archaeology was established. He occupied this chair until June 30th 1939.

During a third of a century Johan Gunnar Andersson was thus in a position to follow up the splendid start he had made in China, and he carried on his indefatigable activity in building up a really comprehensive and representative collection of artifacts from the early dynasties: mainly Yin, Chou and Han, but also, in regard to mirrors and tomb figurines, T'ang. The Swedish State assumed responsibility for the costs of the museum and the staff (a very limited one), but for the acquisition of new objects Andersson had to depend entirely on private donors. In this respect he received a powerful support from the so-called China Committee of which His Royal Highness Gustaf Adolf (now His Majesty Gustaf VI Adolf) was for many years the Chairman. It was, however, largely due to Andersson's scholarship, enthusiasm and power of awakening public interest in things Chinese that the museum was enabled to thrive and grow into one of the most important collections in this field existing in the West.

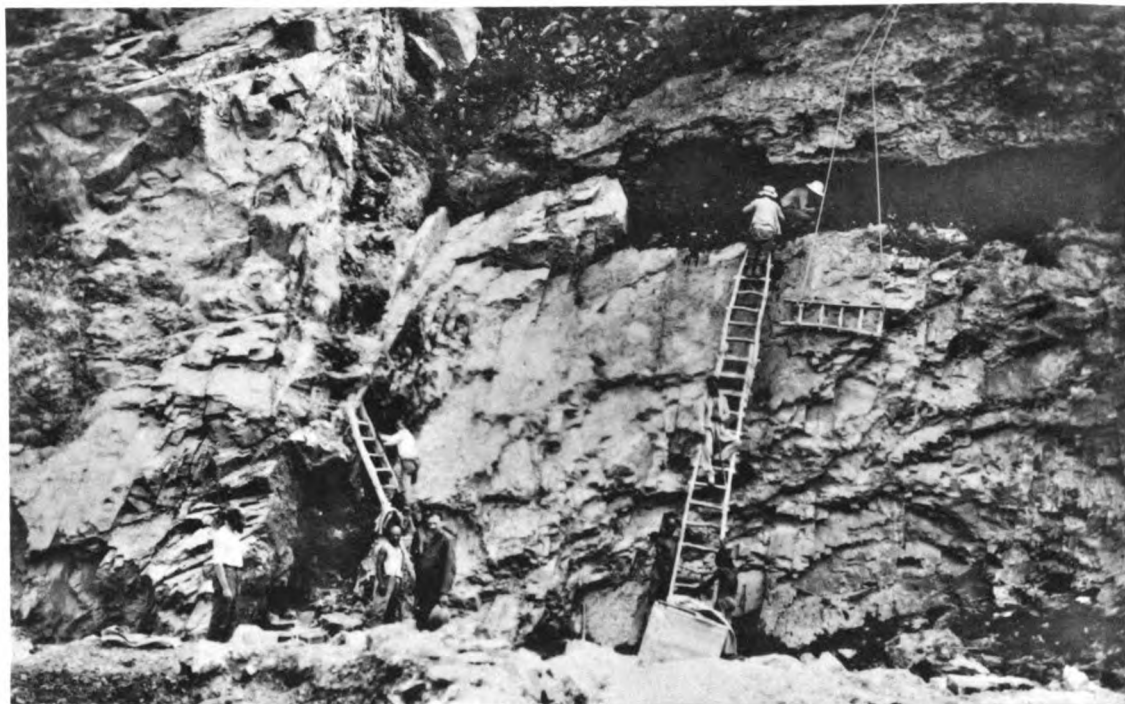
Though Andersson's researches were principally concerned with the prehistoric periods, he took an unfailing interest in the early historical culture of China, and many important contributions from his pen have enriched our knowledge of the Far Eastern bronze age. On the one hand, he devoted several valuable articles to the study of the art of the steppe peoples, the "Ordos" art (Bulls. 1, 4, 5); on the other hand, his paper "The Goldsmith in Ancient China" (Bull. 7) brought about one new and exceedingly important result. Up to that time it had been customarily, and practically unanimously, accepted that artifacts inlaid with gold and silver were products of the Han dynasty. Andersson's keen eye observed the fact that a bronze vessel from Kin-ts'un (White Pl. 113) has a typical pre-Han (Huai-style) décor ("comma-pattern") on the lower part, and a broad band with inlaid décor on the neck, and this was the starting point for his unravelling of the magnificent art of inlay technique in the latter part of the Chou dynasty.

Johan Gunnar Andersson was an excellent writer, and he published a long series of popular books. His magnificent survey: *Den Gula Jordens barn* (1932; English version: *Children of the Yellow Earth*, 1934) is a masterpiece.

In his contact with friends and colleagues, Johan Gunnar Andersson was a man of great personal charm. He was always intellectually alert, full of ideas and initiative, impulsive and sometimes irascible, yet always the first to extend a friendly hand. To cooperate with him in the Chinese researches was highly stimulating and a great privilege. Those of us here in the museum who have associated with Johan Gunnar Andersson will always remember him as a remarkable man and a very good and faithful friend.¹⁾

Bernhard Karlgren

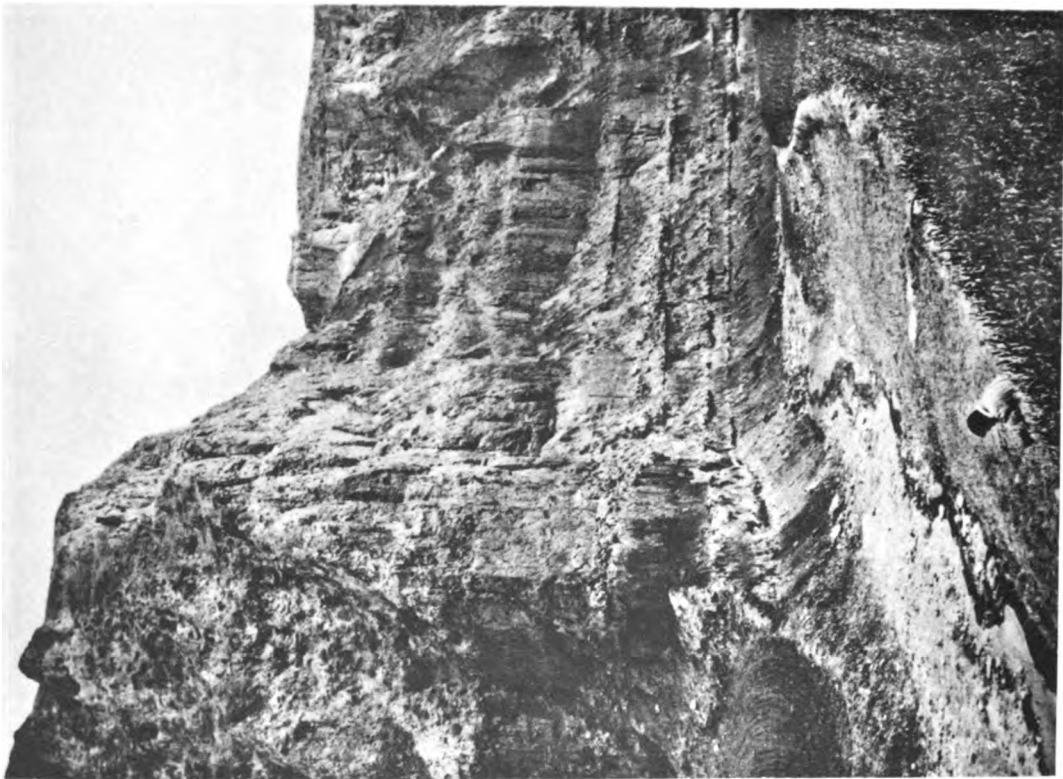
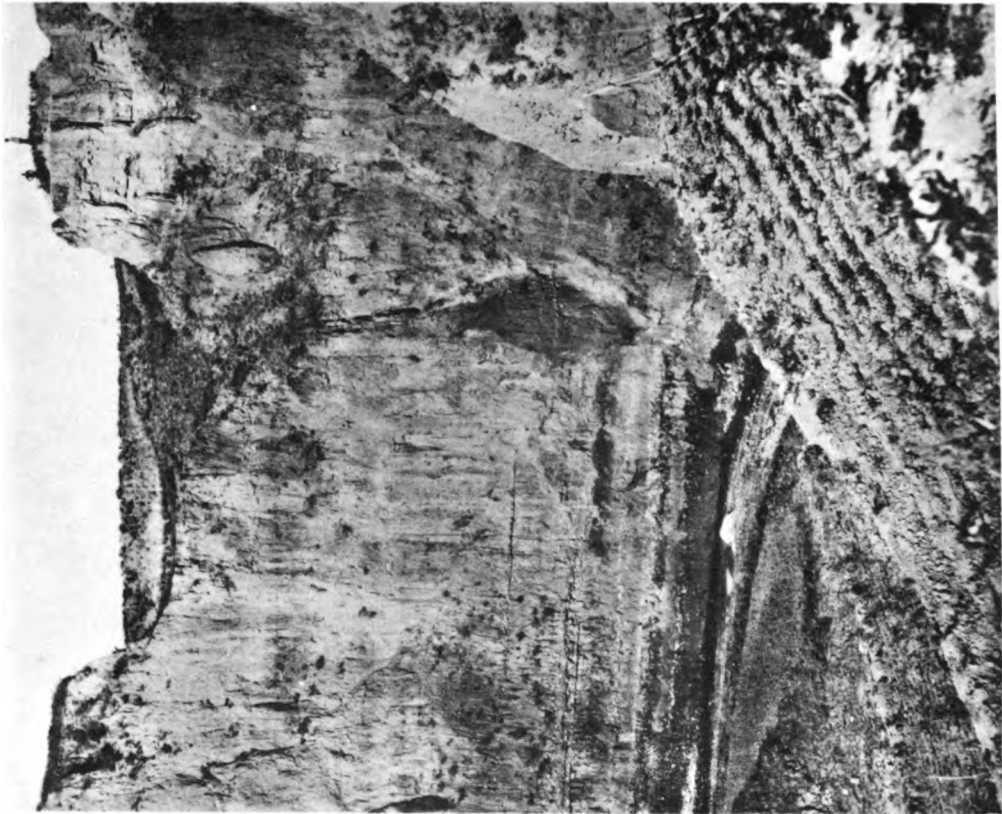
¹⁾ The plates following these notes give some examples of the localities in which Andersson carried through his epoch-making investigations.



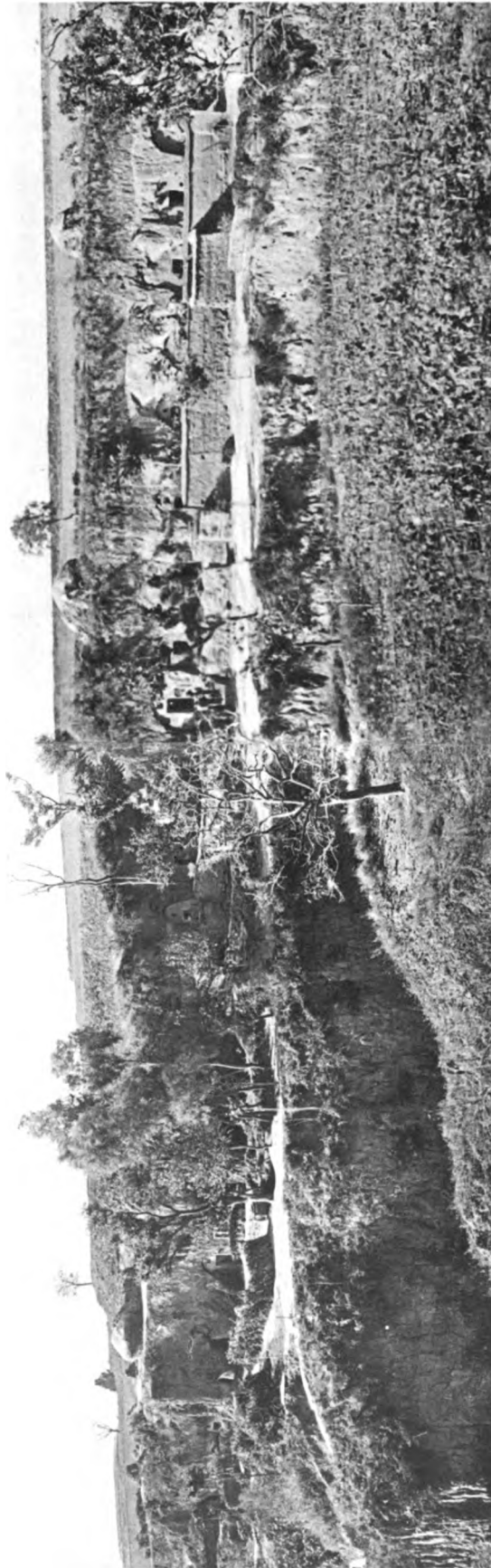
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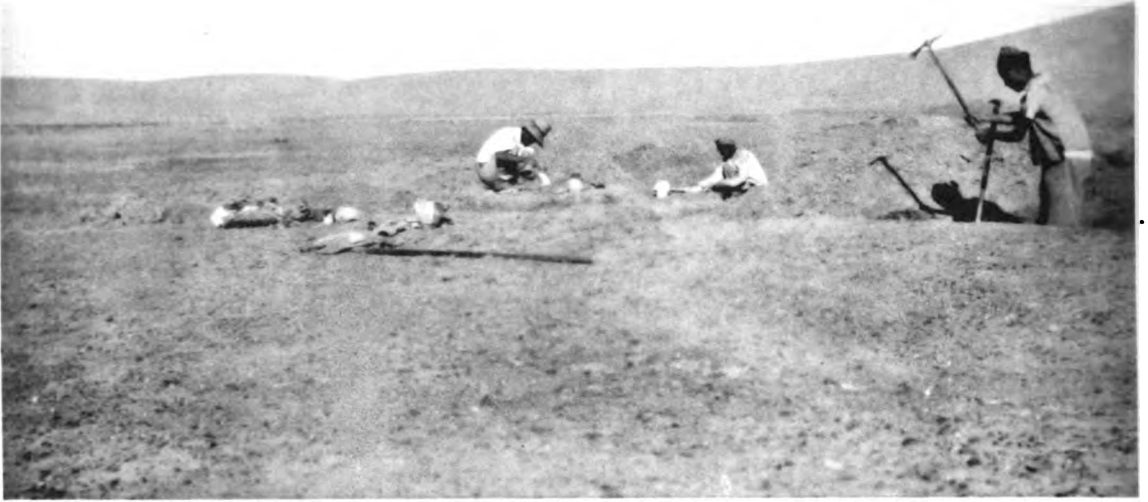
Pan Shan



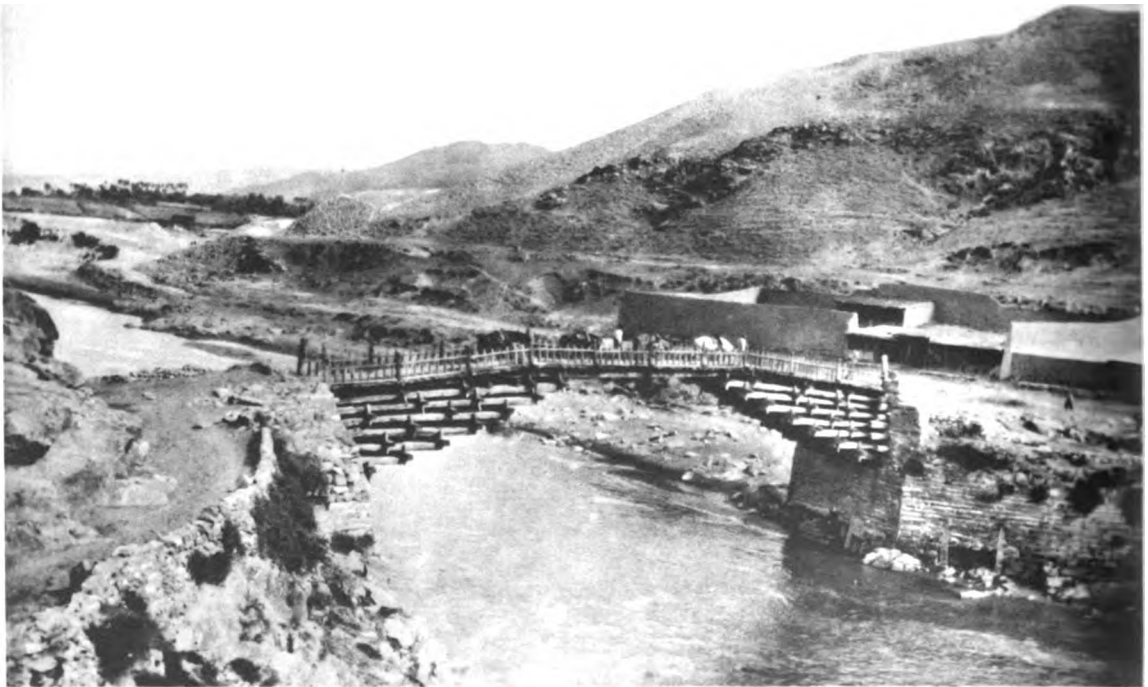
Yang Shao Tsun



Yang Shao Tsun



Sha Ching



Hsining Ho



Lo Han T'ang



Lo Han T'ang



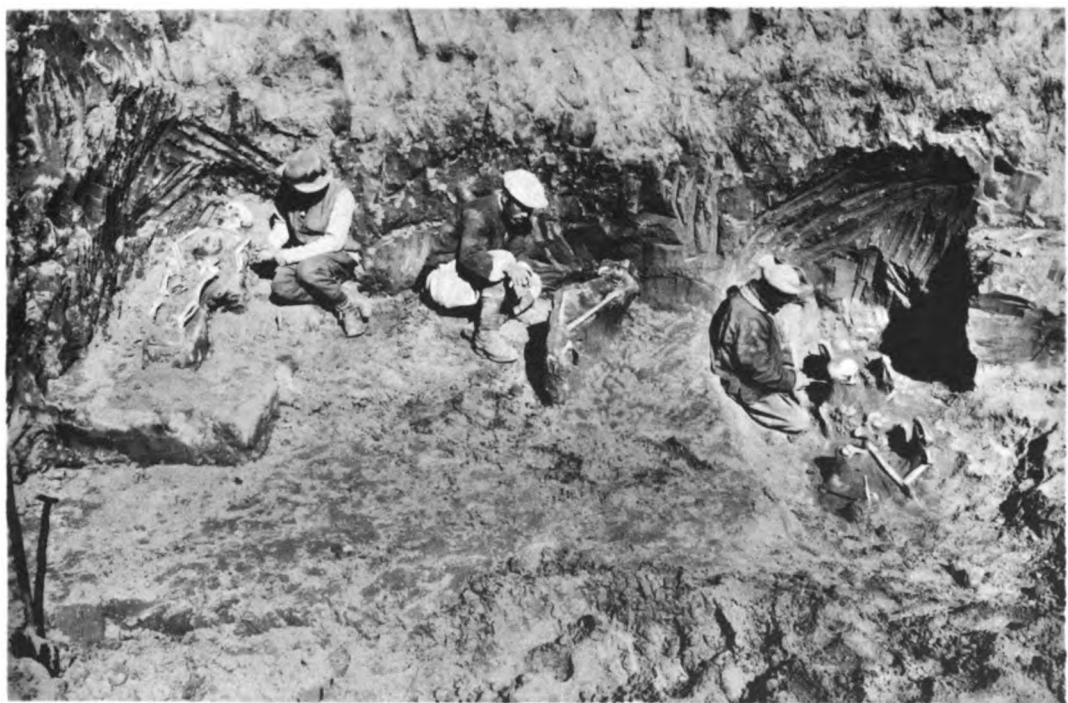
Ch'i Chia P'ing



Ssu Shih Ting



Chu Chia Chai



Chu Chia Chai



Danh Do La



**Dr. Fu Ssu-nien, of the Academia Sinica, and
Professor Johan Gunnar Andersson**

STUDIES ON THE CHOU LI

BY

SVEN BROMAN

INTRODUCTION

The authenticity of the Chou Li or, to use its ancient name, the Chou Kuan has been a subject for different opinions on the part of both Chinese and Western scholars. A survey of the arguments for and against its authenticity has been given by Karlgren,¹⁾ who proved the pre-Han character of the Chou Li in verifying

“the existence of numerous passages out of the Chou Li . . . before the time of Liu Hin . . .

- A. Extracts from the Chou Li incorporated in Rituals that were current in Western Han time and which were formed into a collection in the middle of the 1st c.B.C.
- B. Extracts from or references to . . . the Chou Li . . . in Si-ma Ts'ien's Shī ki, written about a century B.C.
- C. References to . . . the Chou Li . . . in the Mao Shī commentary, written in the middle of the 2nd c.B.C.
- D. References to . . . the Chou Li . . . among the glosses of the Er ya, glosses that were written at the latest in the 2nd c.B.C., but probably in the 3rd c.B.C.” (Op. cit. p. 57.)

As a conclusion Karlgren states that the Chou Li existed at any rate in the middle of the 2nd century B. C. and that,

“If we have not demands for proof that are perfectly exorbitant, asking for pre-Liu references to every single clause in those big texts (i. e. the Chou Li and the Tso Chuan), we can assert, without any exaggeration, that few ancient Chinese texts are so well supported, in regard to their character of pre-Han texts, by early and reliable testimonies, as the actual Chou Li and Tso Chuan texts.” (Op. cit. pp. 57, 59.)

In this article we propose to go one step further. We shall here make a comparative study of the administrative system in the Chou Li and that of the free texts. The pre-Han texts are divided by Karlgren into free and systematizing texts²⁾ and defined in the following way:

“On the one hand, there are sources like Shu king and Shī king, Tso Chuan and Kuo Yü and Chan kuo ts'è, Lun yü and Mencius, Mo-tsī and Chuang-tsī, Li sao and T'ien wen — they are what I shall call free texts of the pre-Han era. Their accounts of ancient men, happenings and cults are given *en passant*, either as occasional records of events

¹⁾ Karlgren, B., The early history of the Chou Li and Tso Chuan texts, BMFEA 3, Stockholm 1931.

²⁾ Karlgren, B., Legends and cults in ancient China, BMFEA 18, Stockholm 1946.

or inserted in speeches of politicians and philosophers, who refer to current traditions in elucidating some moral or political theme. Of an entirely different character are those writings which I shall call systematizing texts. They are the products of scholars who deliberately tried to lay down laws or make a consistent whole of the ancient traditions and ritual ideas. Their goal was to work up and compile a diffuse and heterogeneous material, to create a system. To this class belong, in the first place, works such as the major part of the *Li ki*, and the whole of the *Yi li* and *Chou li*." (Op. cit. p. 201.)

To this, however, we must also add that many of the free texts include systematizing passages which must be used with caution in our study.

Only in a few cases do I refer to Han or later commentators and early Han works, since they are merely scholarly reconstructions, in many cases based on the *Chou Li* text, or compilations from ancient texts. Nor are references made to the bronze inscriptions, as that would go beyond the scope of this article.¹⁾

All Chinese expressions are transcribed according to a scheme established by Karlgren.²⁾ The translation of the titles presents a difficult problem. I have chosen to maintain the Chinese denominations and attempted briefly to define the purport of the office in question as accurately as possible. The identification of titles in the *Chou Li* with those in the free texts is based on an examination of the functions pertaining to the functionaries in question.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE SYSTEM IN THE CHOU LI

In order to investigate the authenticity of the *Chou Li* administrative system I shall make a comparative survey of the offices mentioned in the *Chou Li* and the free texts. For the sake of simplicity I follow the arrangement of the *Chou Li*.

The *Chou Li* concerns only the Royal Chou, but the entries about the Royal Chou in the free texts are very scanty. Various feudal states, however, imitated in all essentials the governing system in the Royal Chou, and so we can draw upon the information furnished about them in order to shed light on the basic system underlying all of them.

The *Chou Li* contains a detailed description of the administrative system in the Royal Chou. Its cabinet consists of the Premier and five other ministers, who are in charge of the departments of the Royal Household, the multitude, the cult, war, justice and public works. There are various offices attached to the departments.

From the *Chou Li* text it is evident that there were six and not five ministers in the Royal Chou, though the last section of the *Chou Li*, i. e. that of the *Si30 k'ung116*, is lost and replaced by the work *K'ao Kung Ki*, which describes various artisans attached to the Royal Chou Court.³⁾

¹⁾ Maspero has made use of the inscriptions in his article "Contribution à l'étude de la société chinoise à la fin des Chang et au début des Tcheou" (BEFEO XLVI fasc. 2 pp. 335—402) discussing a period anterior to that studied here.

²⁾ Karlgren, B., The transcription of literary Chinese, BMFEA 23, Stockholm 1951.

³⁾ Cf. *Chou I*:20—22, 44—46, where the text speaks of six departments. From the text it is evident that the sixth department is that of the *Si30 k'ung116* (*Chou I*:46).

I. THE DEPARTMENT OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD

1. *Ta-37 tsai:40* or *Chung:14 tsai:40* is the Premier. He holds the rank of *K'ing26* and is appointed by the King of Chou. (Chou I:1—3,20—42.)

From the Chou Li description of the various offices subordinated to the department of the *Ta-37 tsai:40* it is evident that it was principally a Royal Household department, and that the *Ta-37 tsai:40* was fundamentally the King's major domo. In this capacity he naturally played a predominant part also politically, and, in fact, at the same time as he was major domo, he was the Premier in the Cabinet.

This Chou Li system is confirmed, as far as the Royal Chou is concerned, by the free texts, particularly those referring to the early part of the Chou dynasty.¹⁾ There was, however, a natural tendency to transfer the power of leadership from the major domo of the ruling house to more specifically political members of the Cabinet, and it may be significant that in the Shi King, where the *Chung:14 tsai:40* is mentioned twice, he is in the one ode placed at the head of the Cabinet, but not in the other.²⁾

In the feudal states of middle and late feudal Chou, the *Ta-37 tsai:40* (*Chung:14 tsai:40*, *Tsai:40* as well as *Yu-30 tsai:40*) as a member of the Cabinet is attested for several states³⁾ and during the same periods the tendency to remove the premier-

¹⁾ *Ta-37 (T'ai-37) tsai:40:*

Royal Chou — Tso III:505. Kuo k. 1,12a, 14b, 15a.

Chung:14 tsai:40:

Royal Chou — Shi p. 226. — Lun p. 291, Meng p. 238 and Li I:220 refer to pre-Chou times.

Tsai:40:

Royal Chou — Ch'un I:10 (id. Tso I:10), 80 (cf. Tso I:80), 269,419. Tso I:270 (cf. Kuo k. 6,10a and Kuan k. 8 p. 164). Kuo k. 8,6a-b.

²⁾ In Ode 258, Shi p. 226, he is obviously the Premier; in Ode 193, Shi p. 139, he comes third after the *K'ing26 shi-33* (the Premier) and the *Si30 t'u,60*.

³⁾ *Ta-37 (T'ai-37) tsai:40:*

Cheng — Tso II:277, 289. Han 4 pp. 24, 27.

Ch'u — Tso II:82, 131, 484, III:2,40, 42, 131, 342. Kuo k. 17,6b.

Lu — Tso I:63.

Sung — Tso I:68, 156, II:118, 330. Chuang k. 5,11b. Han 2 pp. 44, 90; 3 p. 12. Lie p. 41.

Ts'i — Kuan k. 24 p. 512

Ts'in — Chan k. 26 p. 33.

Wu — Tso III:508, 595, 640, 653, 678—679, 689, 706, 753. Kuo k. 20,2a. Mo p. 3:9. Han 3 pp. 2,6; 4 p. 5. Lü pp. 23,295. (All excerpts refer to the same person.)

Chung:14 tsai:40:

Cheng — Tso III:17.

Tsai:40:

Ch'u — Tso I:614.

Lu — Chuang k. 2,12a. Lü p. 24.

Sie — Tso III:484.

Ts'i — Kuo k. 6,1a.

Yu-30 tsai:40:

Wei-144 — Tso I:28, II:305, 446. Lü p. 370.

ship from the *Ta-37 tsai:40* to some other member of the Cabinet is stronger. Clear indications of the *Ta-37 tsai:40* being the real Premier are rare. There is, however, one for Ts'i (K u o k. 6,1a) just mentioned and another for Lu (C h u a n g k. 2,12a), possibly also for Wu (T s o III:508). On the other hand, the context in several passages shows that the *Ta-37 tsai:40*, even though he belonged to the Cabinet, was not the Premier. This function belonged to some other member of the Cabinet. Such testimonies are to be found for Sung (T s o II:118), for Cheng (T s o II:277, III:17) and for Ch'u (T s o III:2,42).

There are, indeed, positive facts to show that, in some states at least, the leadership in the Cabinet lay with another officer. This was, above all, the case in Ch'u, where the *Ling-9 yin:44* was regularly the Premier.¹⁾

In the second place, Sung had evidently a system in which the premiership was ambulatory. Sometimes it rested with the *Si30 ch'eng:32* (i. e. the *Si30 k'ung116*),²⁾ sometimes with the *Yu-30 shi50* (T s o II:118; cf. Office 85 below), sometimes with an officer called *Ta-37 yin:44*.³⁾ From the context in T s o III:762, just mentioned, it would seem that the *Ta-37 yin:44* was fundamentally a chamberlain of the ducal court.

The leading member of the Cabinet in the various states may also be referred to under other denominations as for instance:

K'ing26 shi-33 (S h i p. 139).

Pok9 siang-109 (S h u pp. 70—71).

Kuok31 siang-109 (T s o I:639).

Tang102 kuok31 (T s o II:185, 259).

Siang-109 kuok31 (T s o III:734 and L ü p. 127).

Siang-109 (T s o II:556).

Ch'eng:1 siang-109 (C h a n k. 23 p. 6 and S h a n g K ü n pp. 329—330).

Tsai:40 siang-109 (L ü p. 75).

These are mostly mere circumlocutions. Thus the *Kuok31 siang-109* mentioned in T s o I:639 is really the *Ling-9 yin:44* Ts'i Yü. The *Siang-109 kuok31* in T s o III:734 is likewise a well-known *Ling-9 yin:44*. It seems, however, that the last two terms, i. e. the *Ch'eng:1 siang-109* and *Tsai:40 siang-109*, became the regular official term for the Premier in the latest Chou periods, as they are recorded in texts from the 3rd century.

It must, however, be strongly emphasized that, although the *Tsai:40* (*Ta-37 tsai:40*, *Chung:14 tsai:40*) was not always in middle feudal Chou the Premier in the various states, he was none the less a member of the Cabinet and not simply an intendant of the ruling house. He had thus always a political position, though

¹⁾ T s o I:134, 196, 201, 338, 372 and passim; cf. Index. K u o k. 5, 5a; k. 10, 6b, 16a; k. 14, 7a, 8a; k. 17, 3b; k. 18, 5a, 5b. C h a n k. 14 p. 23; k. 27 p. 44. L u n p. 179. C h u a n g k. 7, 12b. H a n 1 p. 12; 3 p. 9; 4 p. 57. S ü n k. 3 p. 3. L ü pp. 352, 388, 421. — H a n 3 p. 47 also records the office of the *Ling-9 yin:44* in Lu, but that is probably a textual error.

²⁾ T s o II:233—234, 525, III:765. H a n 3 p. 68. L ü p. 127.

³⁾ C h a n k. 32 p. 86 calls him *Ta-37 yin:44* and H a n 2 p. 58 *Ling-9 yin:44* in an almost identical tale and text line. Likewise T s o III:762 designates him *Ta-37 yin:44*.

mostly not so predominant as that given him in the Chou Li. His prominent position is clearly revealed in, for instance, T s o II:277.¹⁾

2. The two vice-premiers, *Siao:42 tsai:40*, hold the rank of *Chung2 ta-37 fu37*.²⁾ (C h o u I:3,42—57.)

Since the *Siao:42 tsai:40* is defined by the Chou Li as being the chief assistant of the *Ta-37 tsai:40* (Office 1) and thus not only a house intendant but also a political officer, he can be identified with certain functionaries occurring in the free texts as *Shao-42 tsai:40* (T s o I:624,II:118; recorded for Ch'u and Sung respectively). In T s o II:118 it is clearly evident that the *Shao-42 tsai:40* was the chief assistant of the *Ta-37 tsai:40*.

On the analogy of T s o II:118, where the *Yu-30 shi50* and *Tso:48 shi50* are 'Master of the Right' and (his assistant) 'Master of the Left', we may conclude that the *Yu-30 tsai:40* is but another name for *Ta-37 tsai:40* (cf. Office 1) and *Tso:48 tsai:40* for *Shao-42 tsai:40* (i. e. *Siao:42 tsai:40*).³⁾

Since, however, the task of the Premier can in many cases (cf. Office 1) be proved to have fallen to other members of the Cabinet than the *Ta-37 tsai:40*, we find, in full consistency, that there are other office titles indicating the 'vice' of some such Premiers.

In Ch'u this is quite clear. There the *Ling-9 yin:44* had two 'vice': *Yu-30 yin:44* and *Tso:48 yin:44*,⁴⁾ titles which may also correspond to the *Siao:42 ling-9 yin:44* in C h a n k. 26 p. 34.

Another example of an official being 'vice' to the Premier is the *Tso:48 siang-109* in T s o II:426, recorded for Ts'i.

3. *Tsai:40 fu37* hold the rank of *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37* and direct the ranking positions at audiences, distribute the tasks to the officers of the various departments and control their budgets. But at the same time they control the delivery of viands etc. at sacrifices, receptions and political reunions and paraphernalia at Royal funerals. They are thus 'chief stewards' and highest 'chefs' with subordinate chefs and cooks. (C h o u I:3,58—64.)

¹⁾ In middle and late feudal Chou periods the *Tsai:40* may also be the major domo in the houses of the nobility (cf. T s o I:29, 549, II:156, 213, 265, 424, III:157, 314, 531, 571, 662, 749; K u o k. 15,5b; L u n pp. 175, 262; M e n g p. 304 and L i I:226), where he also acted as governor or administrator of certain areas (cf. T s o II:218, III:521, 545, 562, 704; L u n pp. 175, 186, 187, 189, 246, 270). During the same periods the major domo in the private households might also be called *Kia40 lao:125*, *Kia40 ta-37 fu37*, *Kuan40 tsai:40* and *Lao:125* (cf. T s o II:332; K u o k. 10,14a; k. 14,4b; Y e n k. 5,8a and L i I:226) and as governor *Yip163 chang:168* (L i I:240).

²⁾ In the general survey of the offices attached to the departments the Chou Li indicates the number of functionaries pertaining to each office (C h o u I:3—20, 172—192, 397—418, II:141—162, 287—307). Here Biot has rendered an exact translation, but in the descriptive part of the Chou Li he has avoided taking up a definite position in reference to the actual number of functionaries in each office. From the Chou Li text it is, however, evident that only the first-mentioned official in each enumeration represents the office in question, whereas the other functionaries in the office, whether dignitaries or not, act as assistants. Cf. also the survey on pp. 59—66.

³⁾ *Tso:48 tsai:40* is recorded for Lu in T s o II:398.

⁴⁾ T s o I:605, II:126, 315, 353, 497, III:40, 204, 216, 225, 293, 422, 431. L ü p. 388.

It is in the latter functions of 'chief stewards' or 'chefs' that we mostly meet with them in the free texts.¹⁾ Because of this limitation, however, it is questionable whether the *Tsai:40 fu37* in most free texts does not rather correspond to the *Shan-130 fu37* below (Office 6). In any case, the *Tsai:40 fu37* is different from and a superior of the *Shan-130 fu37* in *Kuo k.* 1,7b, recorded for Royal Chou; and he is certainly an officer of high rank; thus the *Tsai:40 fu37* in the Chou Li sense, in *Tso I:568*, just mentioned.

In all probability the *Tsai:40* in *Yi k.* 6,13b, recorded for Royal Chou, and *Tsai:40 jen9* in *Tso III:613—614* and *Kuo k.* 5,12a, both recorded for Lu, may also be identified with the *Tsai:40 fu37*, whereas, on the other hand, the *Tsai:40 jen9* and *Tsai:40 ch'en;131* in *Han* 3 pp. 10,11 best correspond to the *Shan-130 fu37* below.

4—5. The *Kung40 cheng-77* (Office 4) hold the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33* and are commandants of the Royal palace, thus controlling the personnel attached to the palace, whereas the *Kung40 pok9* (Office 5) hold the rank of *Chung2 shi-33* and command the garrison stationed in the palace. (*Chou I:4—5,64—70*.)

6. *Shan-130 fu37* hold the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33* and are the masters of the table, i. e. they supervise the preparation and service of the meals and act as tasters. (*Chou I:6,70—75*.)

The *Shan-130 fu37* is identifiable with certain functionaries in the free texts such as *Shan-130 fu37*, *Shan-130 tsai:40*, *Shan-184 tsai:40* and *Tsai:40* (cf. also *Tsai:40*, *Tsai:40 fu37*, [*Tsai:40 jen9* and *Tsai:40 ch'en;131* in Office 3 above],²⁾ though there seems to have been a change in the rank and position of this functionary. In *Shi* pp. 139,226 the *Shan-130 fu37*, 'Master of the Royal Table', is enumerated among the highest dignitaries. In the Chou Li he has only the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33*, one step lower than the *Tsai:40 fu37* above (*Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*). The latter was evidently the norm in middle feudal Chou, for in *Tso I:172—173*, the *Shan-130 fu37* in Royal Chou is directly attested as not being a *Ta-37 fu37* but a lower official.

¹⁾ *Tsai:40 fu37*:

Li I:241—242.
Royal Chou — *Kuo k.* 1,7b.
Cheng — *Tso I:582*.
Ts'i — *Tso III:326* (id. *Yen k.* 7,2a).
Tsin — *Tso I:568*. *Li I:223*.

²⁾ *Shan-130 fu37*:

Royal Chou — *Shi* pp. 139, 226. *Tso I:172*. *Kuo k.* 1,7b.
Shan-130 tsai:40:
Royal Chou — *Kuo k.* 1,7b; k. 2,10a.
Tsin — *Tso III:167*.
Shan-184 tsai:40:
Ch'en — *Kuo k.* 2,8b.
Tsai:40:
Sün k. 5 p. 19.
Ts'i — *Tso III:433* (cf. *Chou I:74*).

7. *P'ao;53 jen9*, the butchers, hold the rank of *Chung2 shi-33*. (C h o u I:6,76—78.) In this capacity we meet with them in the free texts as *P'ao;53*, *P'ao;53 jen9*, *P'ao;53 cheng-77* and *Fou;86 jen9*.¹⁾ When in these cases commentators and translators have taken those terms to mean 'cooks', this is refuted not only by the Chou Li but also by M e n g p. 141, where he distinguishes *P'ao;53* : *Ch'u;53*, 'slaughter-house : kitchen.'

The *Tsai:40* (to be distinguished from the *Tsai:40* in Office 1 above) means simply 'butcher' in M o pp. 10:33,13:12,82:22.

8. *Nei-11 yung184*, the court cooks, hold the rank of *Chung2 shi-33* (C h o u I:6,79—81) and are in the free texts met with as *Yung172* and *Yung184 jen9*.²⁾ In the 3rd century texts, Han Fei Tsi and Lü Shī Ch'un Ts'iu, moreover, various other terms occur: *P'ao;53*, *P'ao;53 jen9*, *P'ao;53 tsai:40*, *P'ao;86 jen9*, *P'ao;86 tsai:40*, *Tsai:40*, *Tsai:40 jen9* and *Tsai:40 yin:44* (H a n 1 p. 15;3 pp. 10,11,89;4 p. 43 and L ü pp. 12—13,412,418). Of these terms the *P'ao;53 tsai:40* is in a tale about high antiquity.

9. *Wai-36 yung184*, the cooks of the exterior, hold the rank of *Chung2 shi-33*. They prepare the ingredients of sacrifices performed outside the palace as well as food for the garrison stationed in the palace, for visitors, old people and orphans. (C h o u I:6,81—83.)

10. *P'eng8 jen9*, the under-cooks, hold the rank of *Hia-1 shi-33* (C h o u I:7,83—84) and may reasonably correspond to the *Ch'u;53 jen9* in H a n 4 p. 43.

11. *Tien-102 shi50*, the bailiffs in charge of the Royal fields, are *Hia-1 shi-33* (C h o u I:7,84—86) and are in T s o II:85 met with as *Tien-102 jen9*, recorded for Tsin.

12—14. *Shou-94 jen9* (Office 12), the hunters, are *Chung2 shi-33* (C h o u I:7,86—88) and are met with in T s o I:627 (recorded for Ch'u) under the same title.

¹⁾ *P'ao;53*:

Wei-194 — C h u a n g k. 2,1a—2a.

P'ao;53 jen9:

M e n g p. 387. C h u a n g k. 1,4a.

Chao — L ü p. 103.

P'ao;53 cheng-77:

T s o III:596; in a tale about high antiquity. — A similar charge, *P'ao;53 jen9*, is mentioned in a tale about high antiquity in M o pp. 11:48, 13:23.

Fou;86 jen9:

L ü p. 179.

²⁾ *Yung172*:

Ts'i — T s o I:316.

Yung184 jen9:

Ts'i — T s o II:508. — Cf. T s o III:385—386, recorded for a private household in Lu.

The Chou Li distinguishes between *Yü;195 jen9* and *Piet 205 jen9* (Offices 13—14). Both titles refer to fishermen, but only the latter capture turtles and tortoises, crustaceans, oysters etc. The former are *Chung2 shi-33* and the latter *Hia-1 shi-33* (Chou I:7—8,88—91). These two offices are not separately recorded in the free texts but may in Tso II:424, recorded for Ts'i, correspond to the *Shi-9 yü; 85 che*.

In Kuok. 4,10b a distinction is made between the *Shou-94 yü;141* and *Shuei:85 yü;141*. From the context it is evident that these officials are not merely hunters and fishermen but supervisors of hunting and fishing respectively. But the same is surely true of our offices 12—14, since they are noblemen. Thus the *Shou-94 yü;141* equals Office 12, and *Shuei:85 yü;141* equals Offices 13—14.

15. *Sikl30 jen9*, the meat-driers, hold the rank of *Hia-1 shi-33*. (Chou I:8, 91—92.)

16—20. The medical department is headed by the *Yi164 shi50*, the court physicians (Office 16). Other members of this department are the *Si-184 yi164* (Office 17), the court physicians supervising the correct proportions of food and drink; the *Tsit104 yi164* (Office 18), the people's physicians, and the *Yang;104 yi164* (Office 19), the ulcer physicians. Here belong also the *Shou-94 yi164* (Office 20), the veterinary surgeons. The *Yi164 shi50* hold the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33*, whereas the *Si-184 yi164* and *Tsit104 yi164* on the one hand and the *Yang;104 yi164* and *Shou-94 yi164* on the other hand hold the rank of *Chung2 shi-33* and *Hia-1 shi-33* respectively. (Chou I:8—9,92—99.)

Of these functionaries the court physicians (Office 16) may reasonably be identified with the *Yi164* in the free texts,¹⁾ though the same term may also indicate the physicians in general.²⁾

Physicians corresponding to the *Yang;104 yi164* and *Shou-94 yi164* (Offices 19—20) are also met with in the free texts; the former as *Yung104 tsü104* in Meng p. 365, recorded for Wei-194, and the latter as *Ma:187 yi164* in Lie pp. 17,108, recorded for Ts'i, or simply *Yi164* in Mo p. 13:15.

21—23. The intendants of the wines, *Tsiu:164 cheng-77* (Office 21) hold the rank of *Chung2 shi-33* and supervise the production of wine and spirits. Their assistants, *Tsiu:164 jen9* and *Tsiang85 jen9* (Offices 22—23), are eunuchs and prepare various kinds of wine and drinks. (Chou I:9—10,99—105.)

¹⁾ *Yi164*:

Chao	— Lü p. 103.
Ch'u	— Tso II:364.
Ts'i	— Tso I:545. Meng p. 211. Yen k. 2,6b.
Tsin	— Tso I:414.
Ts'in	— Tso II:84, III:35. Chuang k. 10,6a.

²⁾ Tso III:762. Chuang k. 2,3a; k. 5,6a. Mo pp. 21:2, 30:19, 33:53, 82:15, 86:39, 110:72. Lie pp. 36, 70. Yi k. 4,13a; k. 7,6b.

24. *Ling15 jen9*, intendants of the ice-house, hold the rank of *Hia-1 shī-33* (C h o u I:10,105—107) and, though there is no corresponding title in the free texts, it is evident that a similar charge existed as shown by T s o III:71—72.

25—26. *Pien118 jen9* (Office 25) and *Hai:164 jen9* (Office 26) are two eunuchs in charge of the four kinds of Pien- and Tou-vessels and their contents of food respectively. (C h o u I:10,107—111.)

27—29. *Hi164 jen9* (Office 27) and *Yen:197 jen9* (Office 28) are eunuchs in charge of food in vinegar and of salt respectively, whereas the *Mik14 jen9* (Office 29), a eunuch, is in charge of cloth covers for vessels. (C h o u I:10—11,111—114.)

30. *Kung40 jen9*, valets in the Royal living apartments, are *Chung2 shī-33* (C h o u I:11,114—115) and may be identifiable with the *Tsai:40 jen9* in Y e n k. 6,2b, recorded for Ts'i, as well as with the *Siao:42 ch'en;131* in T s o II:85, recorded for Tsin.

31—33. For the Royal camp, the Royal tent and its furniture the Chou Li assigns the *Chang:64 she-135* (Office 31), *Mok50 jen9* (Office 32) and *Chang:64 ts'ī-76* (Office 33), who are all *Hia-1 shī-33*. (C h o u I:11—12,115—121.)

34—37. *Ta-37 fu:53*, the great treasurers, hold the rank of *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37* (C h o u I:12,121—124). Besides them the Chou Li also records other treasurers, i. e. *Yük96 fu:53* (Office 35), *Nei-11 fu:53* (Office 36) and *Wai-36 fu:53* (Office 37). The two latter are *Chung2 shī-33*, whereas the first-mentioned are *Shang-1 shī-33*. It is, however, difficult to distinguish their tasks, but it may suffice to mention that *Yük96 fu:53* are in charge of the Royal repositories containing jade and other precious objects, whereas the *Nei-11 fu:53* and *Wai-36 fu:53* are in charge of the repositories containing various precious objects, delivered as tribute etc, and the currency of the state respectively. (C h o u I:12—13,124—129.)

These functionaries (Offices 34—37) are not separately recorded in the free texts. On the contrary, there seems only to exist one charge corresponding to the great treasurers and then designated *Fu:53 jen9* in T s o I:491,III:287,479 (recorded for Sung, Cheng and Lu). The terms of *Fu:53* in S h u p. 68, recorded for Royal Chou, and *Fu:53 kuan40* in K u a n k. 3 p. 48, designate repository keepers in general. They may thus be identified with those attached to various offices in the Chou Li, where they are called *Fu:53* and *Fu:53 jen9*.¹⁾

38—39. *Si30 kuei-73* (Office 38), the accountants, hold the rank of *Chung2 ta-37 fu37*, whereas the *Si30 shu73* (Office 39) are clerks in the accountant's department and have the rank of *Shang-1 shī-33*. (C h o u I:13—14,129—133.)

¹⁾ C h o u I:4—16, 18—19, 172—190, 398—418, II:141, 143, 145—146, 148—149, 151—154, 156—162, 288—295, 302—304, 306—307.

40—41. *Chik128 na-11* (Office 40) and *Chik128 suei77* (Office 41) are repository officers supervising the material entering the repositories and the distribution of the material stored there respectively. They hold the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33*. (C h o u I:14,134—136.) It is probable that the *Chik128 ki-149* in Y e n k. 1,3b, recorded for Ts'i, occupied a charge similar to that of the *Chik128 suei-77* in the Chou Li.

42—44. *Chik128 pi-50* (Office 42), *Si30 k'iu;145* (Office 43) and *Chang:64 p'i;107* (Office 44) are repository officers supervising the collecting and distribution of silks, furs and skins and have the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33*, *Chung2 shi-33* and *Hia-1 shi-33* respectively. (C h o u I:15,136—141.)

45. The chiefs of the harem, *Nei-11 tsai:40*, are *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37* (C h o u I:15,141—148) and are mentioned in T s o III:740 as *Ts'in:40 yin:44* in Ch'u.

46. The attendants in the harem, *Nei-11 siao:42 ch'en;131*, are eunuchs with the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33* (C h o u I:16,148—150) and are mentioned in T s o I:246 (cf. K u o k. 8,2b) as *Siao:42 ch'en;131* in Tsin. Thus the *Siao:42 ch'en;131* corresponds to both Office 30 and Office 46 in the Chou Li.

47. The gatekeepers, *Hun169 jen9*, (C h o u I:16,150—151) are met with under similar terms, i. e. *Hun72 chok75*, *Hun169* and *Ta-37 hun169*, as well as *Ch'en;72 men169* in the free texts.¹⁾ In the late free texts, i. e. Han Fei Tsī, Lü Shī Ch'un Ts'iu and Kuan Tsī, various other terms occur as *Men169 che*, *Men169 fu-88* and *Shou:40 men169 che* (H a n 3 p. 7; K u a n k. 23 p. 474 and L ü p. 72). The last term is in a tale about high antiquity, whereas the *Men169 che* is recorded for Ts'i.

In noble households in Ch'u and Lu the *Hun169* are also represented (T s o III:128 and L i I:254). The low position of the gatekeepers is clearly indicated already in the Chou Li, where they are not included among the noblemen. This is still more clearly indicated in the free texts, where the gatekeeper's feet are said to be amputated (T s o I:171; H a n 3 p. 7 and L ü p. 72) or his nose to be cut off (K u a n k. 23 p. 474). In S h i p. 238 he was a eunuch.

¹⁾ *Hun72 chok75*:

S h i p. 238 (*Hun72* is here read *Hun169*).

Hun169:

Chu — T s o III:493.

Ch'u — T s o III:106.

Wu — Ch'u'n and T s o II:524 (cf. T s o II:574).

Ta-37 hun169:

Ch'u — T s o I:171.

Ch'en;72 men169:

L u n p. 290.

48. *Sî-41 jen9* are supervisors of the ladies in the harem (Chou I:16,152—153.) In the free texts the same term is frequently recorded,¹⁾ but mostly it simply means 'attendant', there being nothing definite to connect the *Sî-41 jen9* with the harem ladies. Yet in certain passages the context suggests such a connection: Shī p. 81; Tso I:316, II:161,458. The same is true of Shī p. 237, where *Sî-41* occurs in a context suggesting a harem functionary.

The *Sî-41 jen9* may be eunuchs, since, in Tso I:351—352, a *Sî-41 jen9* calls himself *Hing;18 ch'en;131*, 'bodily punished one'. *Hing;18 ch'en;131* and *Kuan85 jen9* are, in fact, both designations of eunuchs in the free texts,²⁾ whereas in the Chou Li the eunuchs attached to various offices are called *Yen37*.³⁾ In Kuo k. 8,3b,4b we also meet with the *Yen37* as well as *Yen169*, recorded for Tsin, but they correspond more precisely to the office of the *Sî-41 jen9* discussed here (cf. Tso I:249—250).

In Tso II:234,III:98,106,287 (in Sung,Lu,Ch'u and Cheng) we meet with the *Sî30 kung40*. That this functionary corresponds to *Sî-41 jen9* in the Chou Li is proved by the context in Tso III:287. Together with *Sî30 kung40*, Tso II:234 also mentions *Hiang-49 pok9* in Sung. He appears also in Han 3 p. 86 (in Ts'i) and is undoubtedly a functionary, a eunuch, attached to the service of the harem and subordinated to *Sî30 kung40* (cf. Tso II:234), though it is impossible to define his status more precisely.

49. The pages, *Nei-11 shu-151*, (Chou I:17,153—154) are met with in the free texts as *Shu-151*, *Siao:42 tsî yü-60* and *Shao-42 shu-53 tsî*.⁴⁾

¹⁾ *Sî-41 jen9*:

- | | |
|------|--|
| Ts'i | — Tso I:236, 316 (both one and the same person).
Shī pp. 81, 152. |
| Sung | — Tso II:458, III:121—122, 180 (all except the first referring to one and the same person). |
| Tsin | — Tso I:249—250 (cf. Kuo k. 10, 12a and Han 4 p. 2), 351, 374, II:161.
The same term is also recorded for private households in Ts'i and Wei-144 (Tso II:495, III:713). |

²⁾ *Hing;18 ch'en;131* is recorded for Ts'i in Tso I:352, II:328 (cf. Tu-Tso k. 15,7a; k. 33,3b) and *Kuan85 jen9* for Ch'u in Kuo k. 19,3b and Lü p. 305.

³⁾ Chou I:9—11, 16, 19, 191—192, 401.

⁴⁾ *Shu-151*:

- | | |
|---------|---|
| Cheng | — Tso III:272 (name?). |
| Ch'u | — Kuo k. 17,6b. |
| Ts'ao | — Tso I:410. |
| Ts'i | — Han 1 pp. 28, 49, 50;3 pp. 80, 81 and passim. Mo p. 3:17. Kuan k. 10 p. 199; k. 11 p. 229. Lü pp. 11, 226, 242, 243. (All referring to the same person). |
| Tsin | — Tso I:353 (cf. Kuo k. 10, 13a), II:84. Kuo k. 14,6a. |
| Wei-144 | — Tso III:729.
<i>Shu-151</i> is also recorded for private households (cf. Tso III:91, 98, 386, 712; Lie p. 104 and Han 1 pp. 39, 40;2 pp. 13, 79; also <i>Shu-151 tsî</i> (Chuang k. 7,5a). |

Siao:42 tsî yü-60:

Royal Chou — Yi k. 5,3b.

50—52. In the Royal harem there are, besides the Queen, wives of the second and third rank, *Kiu:5 pin38* (Office 50) and *Shi-1 fu-38* (Office 51), as well as concubines, *Nu:38 yu-60* (Office 52). (Chou I:17,154—157.) In the free texts we meet with two groups of ladies, the *Fei38* and *Pin38* (Kuo k. 2,10b, recorded for Ch'en), of which the former indicates the Ruler's wife (wives) (Ts'o I:74) and the latter his waiting-women or wives of the second rank. Their number may be nine, *Kiu:5 fei38*, and six, *Luk12 pin38*, respectively (Kuo k. 6,2a, recorded for Ts'i;id. Kuan k. 8 pp. 151—152).

The Ruler's wife (wives) may also be designated *Fei38 ts'iang;38* (Ts'o III:602, recorded for Wu) and the wives of the second rank *Pin38 ts'iang;38* (Ts'o III:54; Kuo k. 10,7b, recorded for Tsin and Ts'in) and *Pin38 yu-60* (Lie pp. 29,54,83; Ts'o III:602, recorded for Royal Chou, Wei-144 and Wu). In Kuo k. 2,4b and k. 5,8b, we meet with the *Kiu:5 yu-60* in Royal Chou though, it is impossible to say whether this term refers to the Ruler's wife (wives) or some other member(s) of the harem.

In the harem there is also another group of ladies, the concubines, who are then called *Ts'iep38* (Ts'o I:314, 578, II:300, 303, 457; Kuo k. 6,2a; recorded for Ts'in, Cheng, Wei-144, Sung and Ts'i). The same term is also used for concubines in private households (cf. Ts'o I:456, II:149, 260; recorded for Lu and Cheng).

53—63. In the harem we also meet with female prayer-masters, *Nu:38 chuk113* (Office 53) and recorders, *Nu:38 shi:30* (Office 54) as well as supervisors of the female work, *Tien:12 fu-38 kung19* (Office 55) and of silk and hemp and their manufacture, *Tien:12 si120* (Office 56) and *Tien:12 si:75* (Office 57). Office 55 holds the rank of *Chung2 shi-33*, whereas Offices 56—57 are *Hia-1 shi-33*. There are, furthermore, eunuchs, who are dress-makers, *Nei-11 si30 fuk74* (Office 58) and tailors, *Feng;120 jen9* (Office 59). Other important functionaries in the harem were undoubtedly the dyers, *Jan:75 jen9* (Office 60); the jewellers, *Tuei162 shi50* (Office 61); the shoemakers, *Ku-44 jen9* (Office 62) and the keepers of the dead kings' (or princes') caps and robes, *Hia-35 ts'ai-165* (Office 63). All these functionaries hold the rank of *Hia-1 shi-33*. (Chou I:17—20, 157—170.)

In Ts'o II:30 there are mentioned for Lu artisans called *Chip32 chen167*, sewers (tailors), and *Chik120 jen-120*, weavers. Probably, the *Feng;120 jen9* (Office 59) was a foreman among these *Chip32 chen167*, who are recorded for Lu.

* * *

To sum up: At the head of the department there is a general staff consisting of the chief of staff, *Ta-37 tsai:40* (Office 1) and his assistants, *Siao:42 tsai:40* (Office 2) and *Tsai:40 fu37* (Office 3).

Shao-42 shu-53 ts'i:

Tsin — Han 3 p. 11.

Ts'in — Chan k. 7 p. 63.

The personnel attached to the palace is controlled by the *Kung40 cheng-77* (Office 4), whereas *Kung40 pok9* (Office 5) command the garrison stationed in the palace.

A large group of functionaries belong to the kitchen department. An important position is held by the masters of the table, *Shan-130 fu37* (Office 6). Attached to this department are also the court cooks, *Nei-11 yung184* (Office 8); cooks of the exterior, *Wai-36 yung184* (Office 9); the under-cooks, *P'eng8 jen9* (Office 10), and the butchers, *P'ao;53 jen9* (Office 7). Among these we should also reckon the bailiffs, *Tien-102 shi50* (Office 11); hunters, *Shou-94 jen9* (Office 12) and fishermen, *Yu;194 jen9* (Office 13) and *Piet205 jen9* (Office 14). The drying of the meat is entrusted to the *Sik130 jen9* (Office 15).

The wines are in the charge of the *Tsiu:164 cheng-77* (Office 21) and their assistants, *Tsiu:164 jen9* (office 22) and *Tsiang 85 jen9* (Office 23), whereas the *Ling15 jen9* (Office 24) are the intendants of the ice-house.

Pien118 jen9 (Office 25) and *Hai:164 jen9* (Office 26) are functionaries in charge of the Pien- and Tou-vessels and their contents of food, while *Yen;197 jen9* (Office 28) and *Hi164 jen9* (Office 26) take care of salt and of food in vinegar respectively. The *Mik14 jen9* (Office 29) take care of cloth covers for vessels.

The correct proportions of food and drink are supervised by *Si-184 yi164* (Office 17), who belong to the medical department. This department is headed by the court physicians, *Yi164 shi50* (Office 16), and also includes the people's physicians, *Tsit104 yi164* (Office 18); the ulcer physicians, *Yang;104 yi164* (Office 19), and the veterinary surgeons, *Shou-94 yi164* (Office 20).

Kung40 jen9 (Office 30) are valets in the Royal living apartments, while *Chang:64 she-135* (Office 31), *Mok50 jen9* (Office 32) and *Chang:64 ts'i-76* (Office 33) are in charge of the Royal camp, the Royal tent and its pitching and furniture.

The government repositories are headed by the great treasurers, *Ta-37 fu:53* (Office 34), while *Yuk96 fu:53*, *Nei-11 fu:53* and *Wai-36 fu:53* (Offices 35—37) are in charge of the Royal repositories and those containing precious objects and the currency of the state.

The accountants, *Si30 kuei-73* (Office 38), have in their department special clerks in charge of the account-books, *Si30 shu73* (Office 39). Repository officers are *Chik128 na-11* (Office 40) and *Chik128 suei-77* (Office 41), who supervise the material entering the repositories and its distribution, as well as the *Chik128 pi-50*, *Si30 k'iu;145* and *Chang:64 p'i;107* (Offices 42—44), who collect and distribute silks, furs and skins.

Besides the Queen there are in the Royal harem wives of the second and third rank, as well as concubines, *Kiu:5 pin38*, *Shi-1 fu-38* and *Nü-38 yü-60* (Offices 50—52). The chiefs of the harem are the *Nei-11 tsai:40* (Office 45). In the harem there are attendants, *Nei-11 siao:42 ch'en;131*; gatekeepers, *Hun169 jen9*; supervisors of the ladies, *Si-41 jen9*, and pages, *Nei-11 shu-151* (Offices 46—49). Attached to the harem are also female prayer-masters, *Nü:38 chuk113*, and female recorders, *Nü:38 shi:30*, as well as supervisors of the female work, *Tien:12 fu-38 kung19*, silk and hemp and their manufacture *Tien:12 si120* and *Tien:12 si:75* (Offices

53—57). Other important functionaries were undoubtedly the dress-makers, *Nei*-11 *si*30 *fuk*74; tailors, *Feng*;120 *jen*9; dyers, *Jan*:75 *jen*9; jewellers, *Tuei*162 *shi*50; shoemakers, *Kü*-44 *jen*9, and keepers of the dead kings' caps and robes, *Hia*-35 *ts'ai*-165 (Offices 58—63).

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II. THE DEPARTMENT OF THE MULTITUDE

64. *Ta*-37 *si*30 *t'u*;60 or *Si*30 *t'u*;60 holds the rank of *K'ing*26 and is the minister of the multitude. He and his department supervise the people and their instruction as well as the land and its administration. (C h o u I:171—172, 192—219.)

The charge of the *Si*30 *t'u*;60 as director of the multitude is recorded for high antiquity in S h u p. 7 (cf. K u o k. 4, 6b; M e n g pp. 251—252; S ü n k. 18 p. 8). The same term is also met with in S h u pp. 29, 30, 46, 68 and Y i k. 4, 8b, where it indicates the same functionary at Royal Chou in the beginning of the Chou era. The context of S h u p. 46 also suggests that *Nung*161 *fu*-88, referred to the first centuries of the Chou dynasty, is but another designation of the *Si*30 *t'u*;60.

According to the free texts, the *Si*30 *t'u*;60 or *Ta*-37 *si* 30 *t'u*;60 occupied during the most part of the Chou era a position similar to that described in the Chou Li.¹⁾ His high position is revealed in various passages, where he is recorded among the highest dignitaries (cf. S h i p. 139; T s o I:478, II:118, III:347, 762), though only very few passages in the free texts expressly attribute to him functions similar to those of the Chou Li text (cf. S h i p. 190; T s o I:605—606, II:431; K u o k. 1, 7a, 7b, 9b; k. 2, 10a; k. 4, 8b; S ü n k. 5 p. 20). In middle feudal Chou time the title of the *Si*30 *t'u*;60 was discarded in Tsin (T s o I:93), where they used it instead to indicate a charge in the army (K u o k. 13, 3b).

65. *Siao*:42 *si*30 *t'u*;60 are the vice-ministers of the department of the multitude and hold the rank of *Chung*2 *ta*-37 *fu*37. (C h o u I:172, 220—231.)

¹⁾ *Si*30 *t'u*;60:

Royal Chou	— S h i pp. 139, 190. T s o II:371, III:352—353. K u o k. 1, 7a, 7b, 8a, 9b; k. 2, 10a; k. 16, 1a.
Ch'en	— T s o II:326, 431, III:667.
Cheng	— T s o II:259, 352.
Ch'u	— T s o I:605.
Lu	— T s o III:94. K u o k. 4, 8b.
Sung	— T s o I:478, 502 (cf. T s o I:537), II:118, 457, 527, III:762.
Wei-144	— T s o III:715, 755, 761. L i I:211.
Wei-194	— C h a n k. 21 p. 83; k. 24 p. 9. L ü p. 312.

In the houses of the grand dignitaries there was a corresponding office, designated *Si*30 *t'u*;60, e. g. in Lu (L i I:176).

Ta-37 *si*30 *t'u*;60:

Sung	— T s o III:347.
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66—73. For the six Hiang districts (C h o u I:238) the Chou Li assigns three governors, *Hiang163 lao:125*, (Office 67) with the rank of *Kung12* and four vice-governors, *Hiang163 shi50*, (Office 66) with the rank of *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*. Each Hiang district has an administrator, *Hiang163 ta-37 fu37*, (Office 68) with the rank of *K'ing26*.

The Hiang district is, in its turn, divided into Chou-, Tang-, Tsu-, Lü- and Pi-units, administrated by the *Chou47 chang:168* (Office 69); *Tang:203 cheng-77* (Office 70); *Tsu70 shi50* (Office 71); *Lü169 sü130* (Office 72) and *Pi-81 chang:168* (Office 73) respectively. These functionaries hold the rank of *Chung2 ta-37 fu37*, *Hia-1 ta-37, fu37*, *Shang-1 shi-33*, *Chung2 shi-33* and *Hia-1 shi-33* respectively. (C h o u I:172—173, 231—261.)

The free texts give too sparse data about the provincial administration to allow of a strict comparison with the Chou Li system. Each Hiang district appears to be headed by a *Hiang163 cheng-77* (T s o II:234 and Y i k. 2,7b; recorded for Sung and Royal Chou), who thus corresponds to the *Hiang163 ta-37 fu37* (Office 68) in the Chou Li. Probably the *Hiang163 chang:168* in M o pp. 15:14—16, 16:19—22, 19:15, 111:92 and K u o k. 6,5b, recorded for Ts'i, as well as *Hiang163 shi50* in S ü n k. 5 p. 22 correspond to the same charge, i. e. Office 68. The *Chou47 chi ta-37 fu37* in K u a n k. 9 p. 186 is undoubtedly identifiable with the *Chou47 chang:168* (Office 69) in the Chou Li. Office 73, *Pi-81 chang:168*, is met with under an identical title in Y i k. 4,13b and then referred to Royal Chou.

Since in the Chou Li the administrators of the Hiang districts and the Chou- and Tang-units (Offices 68—70) all hold the rank of *Ta-37 fu37*, I propose to identify them with functionaries holding the same rank and administrating certain areas in the free texts (T s o I:212, 224, 373, II:26, 367, 482, 555, III:404, 440, 610; M e n g p. 217 and passim). According to the size of the area administered by them these *Ta-37 fu37* correspond to the offices just mentioned. In the free texts these administrators are sometimes also called: *Ling-9*, *Shou:40*, *Si30 ma:187*, *Tsai:40* and *Yin:44*.¹⁾ As to the *Tsai:40*-administrator cf. also Office 1, where he fulfils the same function though in private noble households.

74. *Feng41 jen9* hold the rank of *Chung2 shi-33* and stake out the borders of the Royal domain, the feudal states and the prefectural cities (*Tu163* and *Yip163*). (C h o u I:173, 261—264.) The free texts, however, emphasize in particular the *Feng41 jen9's*²⁾ task as a border-warden, stationed at a certain place along the

¹⁾ *Ling-9*: H a n 3 p. 41; L ü pp. 11,278. — *Shou:40*: T s o I:374; M e n g p. 431; H a n 2 pp. 81, 86; 3 p. 48. — *Si30 ma:187*: T s o III:304. — *Tsai:40*: T s o III:649; Y e n k. 5,2a. — *Yin:44*: T s o II:340, III:128, 204, 216—217, 220, 421 461, 707; K u o k. 18,6b; k. 19,3b; H a n 4 p. 25; L ü pp. 23,388, 421; and passim.

²⁾ *Feng41 jen9*:

	C h u a n g k. 8,16a.
Royal Chou	— Y i k. 5,9a.
Cheng	— T s o I:8,106.
Ch'u	— T s o I:605.
Han	— L ü p. 375.
Sung	— T s o I:522, III:340.

border (T s o I:8, 106, 522, III:295, 340; L u n p. 164; C h u a n g k. 1,13b;k. 8,16a; H a n 3 p. 49 and Y e n k. 1,6a), a charge, which is also recorded for high antiquity in C h u a n g k. 5,2b. The correspondence between the *Feng41 jen9* in the Chou Li and the free texts is suggested by the passages in T s o I:605; L ü p. 375 and Y i k. 5,9a. Yet it appears that the *Feng41 jen9* in the free texts were more prominent and must have had a higher rank than the *Chung2 shi-33* of the Chou Li.

Other terms for the border-warden in the free texts are *Kiang102 yik32 chi si30* in T s o II:269 and K u o k. 4,4a (recorded for Cheng and Lu) as well as the *Pien162 li-30* in T s o III:292 (recorded for Tsin).

75. *Ku:207 jen9*, the drummers, hold the rank of *Chung2 shi-33*. (C h o u I:174, 264—268.) The same functionaries appear in S h i p. 123, where they, the *Fat9 ku:207*, are assigned to the army. The passage about drummers, *Ku:109*, in T s o III:275 refers to high antiquity.

76. *Wu:136 shi50*, the dancing-masters with the rank of *Hia-1 shi-33* (C h o u I:174, 268—269) are met with in T s o II:254, recorded for Sung.

77—79. Forming a group by themselves are the herdsmen, *Muk93 jen9* (Office 77), the ox-keepers, *Niu;93 jen9* (Office 78) and the fatteners, *Ch'ung10 jen9* (Office 79). The *Niu;93 jen9* hold the rank of *Chung2 shi-33* and the other two that of *Hia-1 shi-33*. (C h o u I:174, 269—274.)

Probably the *Muk93 cheng-77* in T s o III:595, referring to high antiquity, and *Muk93* in S h i p. 131 correspond to Office 77 in the Chou Li. From the context of various passages in the free texts the *Muk93*¹⁾ would mostly be identified with the *Niu;93 jen9*.

80—82. *Tsai-159 shi50* (Office 80) hold the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33* and are cadastral officers in charge of the public registers of land and land taxes. *Lu169 shi50* (Office 81) and *Hien-120 shi50* (Office 82) with the rank of *Chung2 shi-33* and *Shang-1 shi-33* respectively keep account of the number of people and domestic animals and their taxes. The former are in charge of the capital (*Kuok31 chung2*) and the four suburbs (*Kiao163*) and the latter act in wider zones. (C h o u I:175, 275—286).

Of these functionaries, the *Hien-120 shi50* is mentioned in T s o II:545, recorded for Tsin, and in M o p. 105:11. In both these cases, however, the term *Hien-120*

Ts'ai	— T s o III:295.
Ts'i	— H a n 3 p. 49. Y e n k. 1,6a.
Tsin	— C h u a n g k. 1,13b.
Wei-144	— L u n p. 164.
¹⁾ <i>Muk93</i> :	
	T s o II:309, III:129.
Lu	— T s o II:361.
Tsin	— T s o II:570.
Wei-144	— T s o I:405, II:449, III:313.

shī50 may possibly correspond to the *Hien-120 cheng-77* (Office 107) of the Chou Li. The same is true of the *Ye:166 tsai:40* in *Y i k.* 6,15b—16a.

83—84. *Yi:162 jen9* (Office 83) are in charge of certain stores and distribute gratuities to the poor and distressed, the aged and the orphans, visitors and wayfarers, and hold the rank of *Chung2 shī-33*. The same rank is also assigned to the *Kün32 jen9* (Office 84), who regularize and adjust the taxes of the land and the corvées. (*C h o u* I:176, 286—291.)

85—86. *Shī50 shī-83* (Office 85) holds the rank of *Chung2 ta-37 fu37* and instructs (advises) the King in praiseworthy matters, supervises the Royal audiences and accompanies the King whenever he takes part in sacrifices, receptions etc. He is also a commander of a Royal body-guard stationed outside the palace. *Shī50 shī-83*, however, also gives instruction in virtue and behaviour to the *Kuok31 tsī*, i. e. the Ruler's sons and the sons of the nobility. Closely related to the *Shī50 shī-83* and his activities is *Pao:9 shī-83* (Office 86), the guardian, who holds the rank of *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*. He remonstrates with the King regarding his faults. Whenever the King takes part in sacrifices, receptions etc., he accompanies the King. He is, furthermore, a commander of a Royal body-guard stationed at a gate in the interior of the palace. *Pao:9 shī-83* also brings up and instructs the *Kuok31 tsī* in the arts and decorum. (*C h o u* I:176—177, 291—300.)

Probably the *Shī50 shī-83* in *S h u* pp. 29, 70 and *S h ī* pp. 139, 226, recorded for Royal Chou in the early part of the Chou era, indicates the same functionary as is described in the Chou Li (Office 85). As the Ruler's instructor (tutor, preceptor or adviser) the free texts record *Ta-37 (T'ai-37) shī50*, *Shī50* or *Fu-88 shī50*¹⁾, whose assistants are called *Shao-42 shī50* or *Shī50*.²⁾ These titles are, in their turn, identifiable with the *Yu-30 shī50* and *Tso:48 shī50* (*T s o* I:537, II:118, 121, III:347) in

¹⁾ *Ta-37 (T'ai-37) shī50*:

Royal Chou — *S h ī* pp. 133, 234. *T s o* II:34, 312. *K u o* k. 1,8a. *C h u a n g* k. 7,12a.
Y i k. 10,8a. (All these instances refer to the early part of the Chou dynasty.)
— Cf. also the *Shī50* in *C h u a n g* k. 5,2a, recorded for high antiquity.

Ch'u — *T s o* I:447, III:732.

Ts'ai — *T s o* II:461.

Tsin — *T s o* I:469—470.

Ts'in — *C h a n* k. 5 p. 40.

Shī50:

Wei-144 — *T s o* II:303.

Fu-88 shī50:

Royal Chou — *S h u* p. 27.

²⁾ *Shao-42 shī50*:

Royal Chou — *S h u* p. 27.

Suei — *T s o* I:86.

Wei-144 — *T s o* II:482—483.

Shī50:

Royal Chou — *K u o* k. 1,5a.

Sung, where the former may hold the charge of a Premier (cf. Office 1) and the latter is his chief assistant.

It should, however, be observed that all the four terms: *Shi50 shi-83*, *Ta-37 (T'ai-37) shi50*, *Shao-42 shi50* and *Shi50*, occur in several unrelated terms for officials. Thus *Shi50 shi-83* in *Shi* p. 3 is 'matron of the harem', whereas *Ta-37 (T'ai-37) shi50* and *Shi50* indicate the music master and *Shao-42 shi50* the junior music master (cf. below Offices 163—168). On the other hand, *Shi50* in *Shu* p. 77 there designates court assessors.

As tutors of the younger princes the free texts record the *Shi50* and their assistants, *Shao-42 shi50* and *Nei-11 shi50*.¹⁾

The task of the *Shi50 shi-83* as a commander of a Royal body-guard (*Chou* I:295—296) is clearly revealed in *Tso* I:447, where the *Ta-37 shi50* in *Ch'u* also held the charge of commander of the guard around the palace, *Chang*:64 *huan*:96 *liet*18 *chi yin*:44. A similar function is also suggested for the *Shi50 shi-83* by the context in *Shi* pp. 139, 226.

At the beginning of the Chou dynasty the King of Chou had as his guardian *Ta-37 (T'ai-37) pao:9* (*Shu* pp. 48, 70 and *Kuo* k. 1,8a) or *Pao:9* (*Shu* p. 51), a charge which, under the title of *Pao:9*, also occurs in *Wei*-144 (*Tso* II:303) in middle feudal Chou time. As guardians of the younger princes the free texts record *Pao:9* in *Tso* II:77, 286 and *Kuo* k. 15,4b, recorded for *Ch'u* and *Tsin*.

Just as we meet with the combination *Shi50 : Pao:9* (*Tso* II:546) we also find the combination *Ta-37 shi50 : Ta-37 fu-9* (*Tso* I:469—470). The latter, *Ta-37 (T'ai-37) fu-9*, *Fu-9* and *Fu-9 shi-83*, act as instructors to the Ruler²⁾ as well as to the Ruler's sons.³⁾ It is quite bewildering to find the three high officials *Shi50*, *Pao:9* and

¹⁾ *Shi50*:

Royal Chou — *Tso* I:172.
Chao — *Chan* k. 19 p. 59.
Ch'u — *Tso* I:445, II:77, 286, III:295. *Kuo* k. 17,4a.
Tsin — *Kuo* k. 15,4b.

Shao-42 shi50:

Ch'u — *Tso* III:295.

Nei-11 shi50:

Sung — *Tso* II:458.

²⁾ *Ta-37 (T'ai-37) fu-9*:

Ts'i — *Chan* k. 11 p. 92.
Tsin — *Tso* I:469—470, 660, II:170. *Kuo* k. 13,2b; k. 14,5a, 10b.
Fu-9:

Tsin — *Tso* II:321.

Fu-9 shi-83:

Royal Chou — *Kuo* k. 1,12b.

³⁾ *Fu-9*:

Chao — *Chan* k. 19 pp. 59, 63, 64.
Ch'u — *Kuo* k. 17,1a, 4a. — Also engaged in a private household (*Meng* p. 275).
Liu — *Tso* III:198.
Lu — *Tso* I:216.
Ts'i — *Tso* II:349. *Yen* k. 1,4b. *Lie* p. 95. *Lü* pp. 224 (cf. *Kuan* k. 7 p. 125), 413.

Fu-9 described as having practically identical tasks. In *K u o k.* 17,1a—1b the *Fu-9* in Ch'u instructs the Crown Prince in history, genealogy, poetry, rites, music, the power of command, eloquence and will power in order to prepare him for his future position as Ruler of the state. As assistants to these instructors *T s o* II:349 records the *Shao-42 fu-9* in Ts'i.

During the last centuries of the Chou era there existed in Ts'i the charge of the remonstrator or censor, designated *Kien-149 ch'en;131* in *H a n* 3 p. 46 (cf. *Ta-37 kien-149 ch'en;131* in *L ü* p. 275 and *Ta-37 kien-149 ch'i kuan40* in *K u a n k.* 8 p. 169) and *Ta-37 kien-149* in *K u a n k.* 8 p. 161. His high position at the Court is clearly revealed in the excerpts already mentioned, which also suggest a connection between this charge and those of the *Pao:9 shi-83* and *Shi50 shi-83* (cf. *L ü* pp. 274—275).

87—90. Forming a group by themselves are *Si30 kien-149* (Office 87), *Si30 kiu-66* (Office 88), *T'iao;149 jen9* (Office 89) and *Mei;38 shi-83* (Office 90). The two former are *Chung2 shi-33* and the two latter *Hia-1 shi-33*. *Si30 kien-149* are the censors of the conduct of the people, whereas *Si30 kiu-66* are its instructors, who investigate and punish minor irregularities and faults. Whenever a calamity or an epidemic occur, they assist the people. *T'iao;149 jen9* act as conciliators of the people whenever the people are at enmity with each other. Whenever a wound or a murder has been unintentionally inflicted or committed, they investigate and regulate the matter. As supervisors of marriage and its regulations the Chou Li records the *Mei;38 shi-83* (Office 90). (*C h o u* I:177—178, 300-309.)

In the Tso Chuan we meet with the *Chen118 yin:44* (*T s o* I:587, II:315, III:88, 727) or *Chen167 yin:44* (*T s o* III:512), recorded exclusively for the state of Ch'u. The relatively high position of this functionary is revealed in *T s o* II:315, but the instances just mentioned do not furnish any precise information about his activities. The title itself, i. e. *Chen118* or *Chen167*, however, suggests a connection between this functionary and the censors in Office 87.

91—100. The directors of the market, *Si30 shi-50* (Office 91) superwise the market together with a group of subordinate officials. Thus *Chit154 jen9* (Office 92) control the purchase of property, slaves, animals, weapons, precious and rare objects as well as the deeds of purchase and make uniform the weights and measures, whereas *Ch'an;53 jen9* (Office 93) collect taxes and fines. Each group of twenty shops is supervised by a *Sü130 shi50* (Office 94). Its prices and goods are controlled by *Kia:154 shi50* (Office 95). To each group of ten and of five shops there is assigned a police inspector, *Si30 pao-141* (Office 96) and a policeman, *Si30 ki115* (Office 97) respectively. The inspector of two shops and one shop is designated *Sü130* (Office 98) and *Si-129 chang:168* (Office 99) respectively. The treasurers of the market are called *Ts'uan;85 fu:53* (Office 100). *Si30 shi-50* hold the rank of *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*

Tsin	— <i>T s o</i> I:246, 272. <i>K u o k.</i> 10,18b; k. 13,6b.
Ts'in	— <i>C h a n k.</i> 3 p. 15.
Yen	— <i>C h a n k.</i> 31 p. 79.

and *Ch'it*154 *jen*, *Ch'an*;53 *jen*9 that of *Chung*2 *sh'ih*-33. *Ts'uan*;85 *fu*:53 have the rank of *Shang*-1 *sh'ih*-33. (C h o u I:178—180, 309—328.)

In the free texts *Chu*:145 *sh'ih*50 or *Tu*:32 *sh'ih*50¹⁾ may occupy a charge similar to that of the directors of the market (Office 91), though the texts furnish no precise information about his tasks. That *Chu*:145 *sh'ih*50 is a title, is, however, clearly indicated in T s o III:49. In S ü n k. 5 pp. 22—23 we meet with another title, *Ch'ih*-85 *sh'ih*-50, who is probably also a director of the market.

In T s o III:400 we meet with the *Kia*:154 *cheng*-77 in a provincial fief under Lu, a title that may then be identifiable with the office of *Kia*:154 *sh'ih*50 (Office 95) in the Chou Li.

*Kien*108 *sh'ih*-50 in C h u a n g k. 7,15b and *Sh'ih*-50 *li*-30 in H a n 2 p. 90 (recorded for Sung) probably denote low officials attached to the market, but it is impossible to define their actual status more precisely.

101—103. The guardians of the city gates, *S'ih*30 *men*169, (Office 101) hold the rank of *Hia*-1 *ta*-37 *fu*37, whereas the guardians of the frontiers, *S'ih*30 *kuan*169 (Office 102) and the functionaries in charge of the tokens of authority of the state (passports), *Chang*:64 *ts'iet* 118 (Office 103) are *Shang*-1 *sh'ih*-33. (C h o u I:180—181, 328—336.)

The guardians of the city gates (Office 101) are in the free texts called *Men*169 *yin*:44 in K u o k. 2,10a (recorded for Royal Chou) and in T s o I:389 (cf. K u o k. 10,15b), III:764 (recorded for Sung) and *Men*169 *kuan* 40 in Sung (T s o I:334). In C h u a n g k. 8,15a the same title is also recorded — but in that instance for the Yin era.

Office 102, *S'ih*30 *kuan*169, probably corresponds to the *Kuan*169 *yin*:44 and *Kuan*169 *jen*9 in Royal Chou (K u o k. 2,10a and Y i k. 4,12b respectively) and the *Kuan*169 *li*-30 in Wei-144 (H a n 2 p. 92). In C h u a n g k. 7,1a; L i e pp. 14,71,159 and L ü p. 285 it is doubtful whether the *Kuan*169 *yin*:44 is part of a name or a title.

104—111. The six Swei districts are directed by two governors, *Suei*-162 *jen*9 (Office 104) and four vice-governors, *Suei*-162 *sh'ih*50 (Office 105), whereas each Swei district had its own administrator, *Suei*-162 *ta*-37 *fu*37 (Office 106). *Suei*-162 *sh'ih*50 are *Hia*-1 *ta*-37 *fu*37, whereas *Suei*-162 *jen*9 and *Suei*-162 *ta*-37 *fu*37 are *Chung*2 *ta*-37 *fu*37.

The Swei districts are divided into Hien-, Pi-, Tsuan-, Li- and Lin-units, each with its own administrator: i. e. *Hien*-120 *cheng*-77 (Office 107); *Pi*:163 *sh'ih*50 (Office 108); *Tsuan*-163 *chang*:168 (Office 109); *Li*:166 *tsai*:40 (Office 110) and

¹⁾ *Chu*:145 *sh'ih*50:

Cheng — T s o III:49.

Sung — T s o II:358, III:646.

Wei-144 — T s o III:309, 556, 715, 716, 753, 754, 755, 759.

Tu:32 *sh'ih*50:

Wei-144 — H a n 2 p. 49.

Lin163 chang:168 (Office 111). Their ranks are *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*, *Shang-1 shi-33*, *Chung2 shi-33* and *Hia-1 shi-33* respectively. (Chou I:181—183, 336—357.)

Suei-170 cheng-77 in Ts o II:218,234 (in Lu and Sung) and *Cheng-77 fu37* in Ts o II:400 (in Lu) probably fulfilled a charge corresponding to Offices 104—106 in the Chou Li. In Ts o II:234 it is evident that the 'Guardians of the Suburbs', *Kiao163 pao:9*, in Sung are subordinated to the *Suei-170 cheng-77*, though it is impossible to define their actual status more precisely. A similar title, *Kiao163 yin:44*, is also recorded for Ch'u in Ts o III:211.

In ancient times the administrator of the Hien unit was called *Hien-120 jen9* (Ts o III:72), whereas in middle feudal Chou time he was designated *Hien-120 kung12* or *Hien-120 yin:44* in Ch'u (Ts o I:608, II:453) as well as *Hien-120 ta-37 fu37* in Ts in (Ts o II:545). In the late free texts other terms, besides those already mentioned, occur: *Hien-120 ling-9* (Han 2 p. 89) in Wei-144 and Ts'i (Han 3 pp. 15,47); *Hien-120 wei-41* and *Ling-9* in Ts'in (Shang Kün pp. 299 and 296). Cf. also Office 82 above. The *Hien-120 kuan40* in Mo p. 115:30 probably indicates various functionaries attached to the administration of the Hien unit.

The administrator or warden of the Li unit in the city (Office 110) is met with as *Li:166 jen9* and *Si30 li:166*.¹⁾ The *Li:166 chang:168* in Mo pp. 15:13,16:18 and *Li:166 kün30* in Yi k. 6,15b (recorded for Royal Chou) probably held a similar charge.

112. *Lü:70 shi50* with the rank of *Chung2 shi-33* collect certain taxes in grain in the rural districts and distribute such grain as loans or relief. (Chou I:183, 357—359). Their duties, within their districts, are thus akin to those of the *Yi:162 jen9* (Office 83 above).

113. *Shao115 jen9* are *Hia-1 shi-33* and administer the Sheng- (or Tien-) areas. (Chou I:183, 359—361.)

114. *Wei:38 jen9* are *Chung2 shi-33*. They receive the forage, fuel and timber due to the government and regularize their distribution. (Chou I:183, 361—363.) The same charge is met with as *Wei:38 li-30* in Lu (Meng p. 383).

115. *T'u:32 kün32* are *Shang-1 shi-33* and regularize the land taxes in making uniform the protection of the land, also matters concerning labour and tributes. Their duties, within their districts, are akin to those of the *Kün32 jen9* (Office 84 above). (Chou I:184, 363—364). They are met with as *Ti-32 kün32* in Ku an k. 1 p. 29.

¹⁾ *Li:166 jen9*:

Lu — Ku o k. 4,8a.

Si30 li:166:

Ku o k. 2,8b, 9b.

Lu — Ku o k. 4,8b.

Sung — Ts o II:233—234.

116—117. *Ts'ao:140 jen9* (Office 116) are *Hia-1 shi-33* in charge of the fertilization of the soil, whereas the *Tao-115 jen9* (Office 117) are *Shang-1 shi-33* in charge of the sowing and irrigation of low-lying land. (Chou I:184, 365—368.)

118—119. *T'u:32 hün-149* (Office 118) and *Sung-149 hün-149* (Office 119) are *Chung2 shi-33*. They are reporters to the government: the former explain the maps of the territories in order to inform the King about produce and production in various regions, whereas the latter explain records from the various regions in order to inform the King about their antiquities and customs. (Chou I:185, 368—370.)

120—123. The mountain forests and the marshes and their administration are entrusted to the *Shan46 yü;141* (Office 120) and *Tsek85 yü;141* (Office 123), who are both *Chung2 shi-33*. Their subordinates are the *Lin75 heng;144* (Office 121) and *Ch'uan47 heng;144* (Office 122), who are *Hia-1 shi-33* and inspectors of the forests at the foot of the mountains and of the rivers and marshes respectively. (Chou I:185—186, 370—375.)

Already in the lore about high antiquity we meet with the foresters, *Yü;141*, in Shu p. 7 as well as in the beginning of the Chou era at Royal Chou in Ts'o II:206, *Shou-94 ch'en;131*, *Yü;141* or *Yü;141 jen9*, and Kuo k. 10,19a, *Yü;141*. In middle and late feudal Chou periods the foresters are called *Yü;141*, *Yü;141 jen9* or *Yü;141 shi50*.¹⁾ The *Shuai-50 tien-102* in Ts'o I:538, recorded for Sung, is probably but another denomination of the forester, whereas the *Tien-102* in Ts'o II:570 and *Tien-102 jen9* in Kuo k. 2,10a, recorded for Tsin and Royal Chou respectively, designate low officials, subordinate to the forester(s). *Tien-102 jen9* is thus a term that seems to serve both for Office 11 above and for the present one.

Shan46 yü;141 and *Lin75 heng;144* (Offices 120—121) are probably identifiable with *Heng;144 luk198* in Ts'i (Ts'o III:323 and cf. id. in Yen k. 7,3a); *Luk198* in Tsin (Kuo k. 15,5b) and *Shan46 jen9* in Ts'o III:72 and Yen k. 7,9b. The marshes and marshland are in the free texts entrusted to foresters designated: *Chou137 kiao 195*, *Chou137 yü;141*, *Yü;141 hou-9* and *Tsek85 jen9*, who may then correspond to Offices 123—124, *Tsek85 yü;141* and *Ch'uan47 heng;144*.²⁾

¹⁾ *Yü;141*:

Shi p. 14.

Yü;141 jen9:

Chuang k. 7,9a.

Royal Chou — Kuo k. 2,10a. Li I:249—250. Yi k. 2,4b.

Lu — Ts'o III:691.

Ts'i — Ts'o III:324—325. See Meng p. 261 (id. Meng p. 389 and cf. p. 390).

Wei-144 — Lü p. 445.

Wei-194 — Chan k. 22 p. 92 (cf. Han 3 p. 34).

Yü;141 shi50:

Sün k. 5 pp. 21—22 (cf. Kuan k. 1 p. 22).

²⁾ *Chou137 kiao195*:

Ts'i — Ts'o III:323 (id. Yen k. 7,3a).

It is doubtful whether we should refer the 'pondkeepers', *Hiao-75 jen9*, in *Meng* pp. 347—348 (in *Cheng*) and the officer(s) in charge of the water, *Shuei:85 shi50*, in *Kuo k. 2,10a* (Royal Chou), to this group of functionaries. If so this *Hiao-75 jen9* would be different from Office 262 below.

124. *Tsit162 jen9* are *Chung2 shi-33* in charge of the hunting-grounds. (*Chou* I:187,376.) The same title and charge are met with in *Tso* III:699, recorded for Sung.

125. *Kung:55 jen9* are *Chung2 shi-33* supervising deposits of metals, jade and valuable stones. (*Chou* I:187, 377—378.)

126—132. Forming a group by themselves are the collectors of various objects due to the government. These functionaries thus receive teeth, horns and bones, *Kuek148 jen9* (Office 126); feathers, *Yu:124 jen9* (Office 127); material for Dolichos cloth, *Chang:64 kot140* (Office 128); plants for dyeing, *Chang:64 jan:75 ts'ao:140*; charcoal and coal, *Chang:64 t'an-86* (Office 130); T'u-plants for ceremonial use, *Chang:64 t'u:140* (Office 131); and oysters and clams, *Chang:64 shen-142* (Office 132), all of whom hold the rank of *Hia-1 shi-33*. (*Chou* I:187—188, 378—382.)

Office 127, i. e. *Yu:124 jen9*, is met with under the same title in *Yen k. 7,11a*, recorded for Ts'i, where he probably held a similar charge. It seems probable that the *K'i:113 wang-74* in *Tso* III:323 (id. *Yen k. 7,3a*), recorded for Ts'i, who is in charge of salt and clams from the sea, may be identified with *Chang:64 shen-142* (Office 132) in the Chou Li.

133. *Yu-31 jen9* with the rank of *Chung2 shi-33* are intendants of the animal parks. (*Chou* I:189,383.)

134. *Ch'ang:32 jen9* are gardeners with the rank of *Hia-1 shi-33* (*Chou* I:189, 383) and are met with as *Ch'ang:32* in *Kuo k. 1,9b* (recorded for ancient times) and *Ch'ang:32 shi50* in *Meng* p. 416.

135—137. The chiefs of the granaries, *Lin:53 jen9* (Office 135) are *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*. *She-135 jen9* (Office 136) and *Ts'ang9 jen9* (Office 137) are granary officers with the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33* and *Chung2 shi-33* respectively. The former control

Chou137 yu:141:

Royal Chou — *Lü* p. 454.

Lu — *Kuo k. 5,2b*. — The commentator, Wei Chao, has overlooked the *Chou137 yu:141* in the Chou Li and simply interpreted after the words: 'Keeper of boats'.

Yu:141 hou-9:

Ts'i — *Tso* III:323 (id. *Yen k. 7,3a*).

Tsek85 jen9:

Yen k. 7,9b.

the entry and distribution of grain for use in the palace, and the latter are in charge of the storage of grain. (C h o u I:189—190, 384—392.)

In ancient times the chiefs of the granaries are referred to as *Lin:53* or *Lin:53 jen9* in K u o k. 1,9b; k. 2,10a. The latter term is also found in M e n g pp. 386—387. The *Lin:53 li-30* in H a n 3 p. 10, recorded for Han, probably indicates some kind of granary officers, though it is impossible to define their actual task more precisely.

138. *Si30 luk113* hold the rank of *Chung2 shi-33*. The Chou Li text regarding this charge has been lost. (C h o u I:190,392.)

139. *Si30 kia-115* are *Hia-1 shi-33* inspecting the sowing of the soil. (C h o u I:191, 392—393.)

140. *Ch'ung134 jen9* are eunuchs and supply various kinds of rice for sacrifices, receptions and banquets. (C h o u I:191, 394.) The corresponding functionary in a free text is *Ch'ung134 ts'iu;164* (female) in M o p. 47:49—50.

141. *Ch'i-184 jen9* are eunuchs preparing various kinds of grain for sacrifices, receptions, banquets as well as for the King and the Queen. (C h o u I:191, 395.) Probably the *Kuei-184 jen9* in T s o II:85, recorded for Tsín, is identifiable with the *Ch'i-184 jen9*.

142. *Kao:115 jen9* are eunuchs preparing food for unemployed persons, the aged, orphans and soldiers, as well as for sacrificial dogs. (C h o u I:191—192, 395—396.)

* * *

In the department of the multitude the chief of staff, *Ta-37 si30 t'u;60* (Office 64), has as his assistants the *Siao:42 si30 t'u;60* and *Hiang163 shi50* (Offices 65—66). The offices attached to this department belong to two main fields of activity, namely, that of the territories and that of instruction.

The territories are divided into Hiang and Suei districts. Their management is entrusted to the following officials, viz.:

Hiang districts:

Governors	— <i>Hiang163 lao:125</i> (Office 67)
Vice-governors	— <i>Hiang163 shi50</i> (Office 66)
Administrators	— <i>Hiang163 ta-37 fu37</i> (Office 68)

Subdivisions of the Hiang districts and their administrators:

Chou unit	— <i>Chou47 chang:168</i> (Office 69)
Tang unit	— <i>Tang:203 cheng-77</i> (Office 70)
Tsu unit	— <i>Tsut70 shi50</i> (Office 71)
Lü unit	— <i>Lü169 sü130</i> (Office 72)
Pi unit	— <i>Pi-81 chang:168</i> (Office 73)

Suei districts:

Governors — *Suei-162 jen9* (Office 104)
Vice-governors — *Suei-162 shi50* (Office 105)
Administrators — *Suei-162 ta-37 fu37* (Office 106)

Subdivisions of the Suei districts and their administrators:

Hien unit — *Hien-120 cheng-77* (Office 107)
Pi unit — *Pi-163 shi50* (Office 108)
Tsuan unit — *Tsuan-163 chang-168* (Office 109)
Li unit — *Li-166 tsai-40* (Office 110)
Lin unit — *Lin-163 chang-168* (Office 111)

To the same group of functionaries belong also the *Shao-115 jen9* (Office 113), who administrate the Sheng (or Tien) areas.

Feng-41 jen9 (Office 74) stake out the borders of the Royal domain, the feudal states and the prefectural cities (*Tu-163* and *Yip-163*). *Si-30 men-169* and *Si-30 kuan-169* (Offices 101—102) are guardians of the city gates and of the frontiers respectively, while *Chang-64 tsiet-118* (Office 103) are in charge of the tokens of authority of the state (passports).

The market is headed by the *Si-30 shi-50* (Office 91), whose subordinate functionaries are:

Controllers of purchases	— <i>Chit-154 jen9</i> (Office 92)
Collectors of taxes and fines	— <i>Ch'an-53 jen9</i> (Office 93)
Treasurers	— <i>Ts'uan-85 fu-53</i> (Office 100)
Supervisors of groups of twenty shops	— <i>Su-130 shi50</i> (Office 94)
Controllers of prices and goods in these groups	— <i>Kia-154 shi50</i> (Office 95)
Inspectors of two shops	— <i>Su-130</i> (Office 98)
Inspectors of one shop	— <i>Si-129 chang-168</i> (Office 99)
Police inspectors	— <i>Si-30 pao-141</i> (Office 96)
Policemen	— <i>Si-30 ki-115</i> (Office 97)

Tsai-159 shi50 (Office 80) are cadastral officers, whereas *Lü-169 shi50* and *Hien-120 shi50* (Offices 81—82) keep account of the number of people and domestic animals and their taxes in various zones. *Kün-32 jen9* (Office 84) regularize and adjust the taxes of the land and the corvées, and *Yi-162 jen9* are in charge of certain stores, distributing gratuities to the poor and distressed, the aged and the orphans, visitors and wayfarers (Office 83). *T'u-32 kün-32* (Office 115) regularize the land taxes in making uniform the protection of the land, the labour and the tributes.

Lü-70 shi50 (Office 112) receive the grain due to the government and distribute such grain as loans or relief, whereas *Wei-38 jen9* (Office 114) receive the forage, fuel and timber due to the government and regularize their distribution.

Functionaries belonging to the forestry department are *Shan-46 yü-141*, *Lin-75 heng-144*, *Ch'uan-47 heng-144* and *Tsek-85 yü-141* (Offices 120—123). To the same department we should also refer the *Tsit-162 jen9* (Office 124), who are in charge of the hunting-grounds; *Kung-55 jen9* (Office 125), who belong to its mining section;

Ch'ang:32 jen9 (Office 134), the gardeners; *Yu:31 jen9* (Office 133), the intendants of the animal parks; as well as the following group of collectors of various objects due to the government, viz.: *K'uek:148 jen9*, *Yü:124 jen9*, *Chang:64 kot:140*, *Chang:64 jan:75 ts'ao:140*, *Chang:64 t'an-86*, *Chang:64 t'u:140* and *Chang:64 shen-142* (Offices 126—132).

Ts'ao:140 jen9 (Office 116) are in charge of the fertilization of the soil, and *Tao:115 jen9* (Office 117) of the sowing and irrigation of low-lying land. Other officials give information about produce and production (*T'u:32 hün-149*) or about antiquities and customs (*Sung-149 hün-149*) in various regions (Offices 118—119). The sowing of the soil is inspected by the *Si30 kia-115* (Office 139).

Ch'ung:134 jen9, *Ch'i-184 jen9* and *Kao:115 jen9* (Offices 140—142) are all eunuchs. The two former supply or prepare various kinds of rice and grain for sacrifices, receptions and banquets, whereas the *Kao:115 jen9* prepare food for unemployed persons, the aged, orphans and soldiers as well as for sacrificial dogs.

The granaries are directed by *Lin:53 jen9* (Office 135). Special granary officers are *She-135 jen9* and *Ts'ang:9 jen9* (Offices 136—137), who control the entry and distribution of grain and are in charge of the storage of grain respectively.

To the cattle-breeding section we refer the herdsmen, *Muk:93 jen9*; the ox-keepers, *Niu:93 jen9*; and the fatteners, *Ch'ung:10 jen9* (Offices 77—79).

If we turn our attention from the territories and the various activities connected with them, we find that the remaining offices deal mainly with instruction. The instructor and guardian of the King as well as of the princes and the sons of the nobility are *Shi:50 shi-83* and *Pao:9 shi-83* (Offices 85—86). *Si30 kien-149* (Office 87) are the censors of the conduct of the people, whereas *Si30 kiu-66* (Office 88) are its instructors, who investigate and punish minor irregularities and faults. *T'iao:149 jen9* (Office 89) act as conciliators of the people, whenever the people are at enmity with each other. To the same group of functionaries belong also *Mei:38 shi-83* (Office 90), the supervisors of marriage and its regulations.

Belonging to the field of instruction are also the drummers, *Ku:207 jen9*, and the dancing-masters, *Wu:136 shi:50* (Offices 75—76).

* * *

III. THE DEPARTMENT OF CULT

143—144. In the Chou Li the minister of cult and rites, *Ta-37 tsung:40 pok:9* or *Tsung:40 pok:9* (Office 143), holds the rank of *K'ing:26* and is a member of the Cabinet (Chou I:396—397, 418—440), a position which is nowhere in the free texts expressly attributed to him. In these texts references are instead made to him as a master or director of rites. As such a functionary he appears already in high antiquity as *Chit:115 tsung:40* (Shu p. 7) and in the early part of the Chou era at Royal Chou, but then he is designated *Shang-1 tsung:40* or *Ta-37 (T'ai-37) tsung:40* (Shu p. 71 and Yi k. 6, 13b, 14a, 15b) as well as *Tsung:40 pok:9* (Ku o k. 1, 8a)

or simply *Tsung40* (Y i k. 6,14a). In the middle and late feudal Chou periods he may be identified with *Tsung40*, *Tsung40 jen9*, *Tsung40 kuan40* and *Tsung40 pok9*.¹⁾ In all probability, the *Tsung40 chuk113* in K u o k. 4,9a, recorded for Lu, is but another designation of the *Tsung40 pok9*.

Probably, *Tsung40 jen9* in S h u p. 73, recorded for Royal Chou, may be identified with the *Siao:42 tsung40 pok9* (Office 144), i. e. the vice-ministers of cult and rites with the rank of *Chung2 ta-37 fu37*, in the Chou Li (C h o u I:397, 441—453). Office 144 is also met with as *Shao-42 tsung40*, recorded for Royal Chou, in Y i k. 6,13b, 15b.

145—156. Together with the directors of sacrifices, *Si-129 shi50* (Office 145), who have the rank of *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*, there are a group of ritual officers, who supervise the libations, *Yüt192 jen9* (Office 146); prepare the aromatic spirits of black millet, *Ch'ang-192 jen9* (Office 147); delivers fowls for sacrifices, *Kil72 jen9* (Office 148); or are in charge of the Tsun and Yi vessels, *Si30 tsun41 yi;58* (Office 149), as well as of small tables and bamboo mats, *Si30 ki16 yen;118* (Office 150), and all hold the rank of *Hia-1 shi33*. Other ritual officers are: *T'ien37 fu:53* (Office 151), who is a treasurer in charge of jade and valuable objects belonging to the state and kept in the ancestral temple and has the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33*, as well as *Tien:12 juei-96* (Office 152), *Tien:12 ming-30* (Office 153), *Si30 fuk74* (Office 154) and *Tien:12 si;113* (Office 155). The four latter hold the rank of *Chung2 shi-33* and are in charge of the state seals of jade, the Ming emblems, the court garments and the altars for sacrifices outside the palace. The shrines for the remote ancetors and their garments in the ancestral temple are entrusted to the *Shou:40 t'iao113* (Office 156), who are eunuchs. (C h o u I:397—401, 454—493, II:1—15.)

For the early part of the Chou era we meet with *Yüt192 jen9* in K u o k. 1,7b, recorded for Royal Chou, who probably fulfilled the same tasks as Office 146 in the

¹⁾ *Tsung40*:

K u o k. 18,1b, 4a.
 Royal Chou — K u o k. 2,10a.
 Kuo — T s o I:205.
 Lu — T s o III:689. K u o k. 4,8b.
 Sung — T s o II:234—235.
 Ts'i — Y e n k. 1,3a; k. 3,4a.
 Wei-144 — T s o II:303.

Tsung40 jen9:

C h u a n g k. 7,3a. M o p. 106:23.
 Lu — T s o III:752. K u o k. 4,2b.

Tsung40 kuan40:

K u o k. 3,15a.

Tsung40 pok9:

Lu — T s o I:454. K u o k. 4,9a.

The same functionary occurs also in private households as *Lao:125*, *Tsung40*, *Tsung40 ch'en;131*, *Tsung40 jen9* and *Tsung40 lao:125* (cf. T s o II:153, III:397 and K u o k. 5,9b, 10a; k. 12,5b; k. 17,2b). They are all found in Lu except T s o II:153 and K u o k. 12,5b; k. 17,2b, which are referred to Tsin and Ch'u.

Chou Li. In the same passage in the Kuo Yü there is also *Hi93 jen9*, whom we may identify with Office 149, *Si30 tsun41 yi;58*, in the Chou Li (cf. Wei-K u o k. 1,7b).

157—159. In each palace there are two *Shi-1 fu-38* with the rank of *K'ing26* (Office 157), directing the rites performed by the ladies in the palace. Under their direction are *Nei-11 tsung40* and *Wai-36 tsung40* (Offices 158—159), i. e. ladies assisting in sacrifices and rites. (C h o u I:401—402, II:15—20.) Most probably *Tsung40 fu-38* in Ch'un I:186 and T s o I:92, 186, recorded for Lu, as well as in T s o II:187, recorded for Ts'i, may be identified with the *Nei-11 tsung40* (Office 158) in the Chou Li.

160—162. *Chung:14 jen9* and *Mu-32 ta-37 fu37* (Offices 160—161) are *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37* in charge of the princely and the people's burialgrounds respectively, whereas *Chik128 sang-30* (Office 162) with the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33* direct the burials of the feudal princes and the dignitaries. (C h o u I:402—403, II:20—37.) Office 161 and Office 162 are met with as *Si30 mu-32* in T s o III:192, recorded for Cheng, and *Chik128 sang-30* in Y i k. 4,13a respectively.

163—168. The directors of the conservatory, *Ta-37 si30 yüek75*, (Office 163) are the chiefs of music and hold the rank of *Chung2 ta-37 fu37*. Their assistants, *Yüek75 shi50* (Office 164), are *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37* giving instruction in music and dancing. To the same group of functionaries belong also the chiefs of the blind musicians, *Ta-37 shi50* (Office 167) with the rank of *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37* and their assistants, *Siao:42 shi50* (Office 168), who hold the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33* and instruct the blind musicians in the use of the drum and other instruments as well as in songs to the accompaniment of stringed instruments. In the conservatory there are also special inspectors of the students, i. e. *Ta-37 sü130* and *Siao:42 sü130* (Offices 165—166) with the rank of *Chung2 shi-33* and *Hia-1 shi-33* respectively. (C h o u I:404, II:27—53.)

The staff of the music department is described in a somewhat simplified manner in the free texts, where we find the officers *Ta-37 shi50 yüek75*, *Ta-37 (T'ai-37) shi50*, *Shi50*, *Ku:109* and *Kung48*.¹⁾ In the instances quoted below of the officers of

¹⁾ *Ta-37 shi50 yüek75*:

Lu — L u n p. 163.

Ta-37 (T'ai-37) shi50:

S ü n k. 14 p. 4.

Royal Chou — K u o k. 5,12a.

Cheng — L ü p. 268.

Ts'i — M e n g p. 160. Y e n k. 5,4b.

Tsin — H a n 3 pp. 51,83. L i I:222. Y i k. 9,3a, 4b, 5a. (All passages referring to the same person.)

Wei-144 — T s o II:300.

Shi50:

L u n p. 213.

Royal Chou — L ü p. 359.

music in the free texts the context seems mostly to indicate a correspondence with *Ta-37 sī30 yuek75* (Office 163) but it is, of course, quite admissible that some of them rather refer to the chief assistant, *Yuek75 shī50* (Office 164). That *Shī50* in *T s o* II:300, recorded for *Wei-144*, refers to *Yuek75 shī50* (Office 164) is clearly proved by the context. On the other hand, when in *L u n* pp. 337—338 we have a pair: a *Ta-37 shī50* and a *Shao-42 shī50*, it seems more reasonable to assume that they correspond to *Ta-37 shī50* (Office 167) and *Siao:42 shī50* (Office 168) of the *Chou Li*. *Ku:109* and *Kung48* mostly correspond to the chief of music (Office 163).

In the state of *Ch'u* *Yuek75 yin:44* probably denotes the chief of music too (*T s o* III:525). For high antiquity *T s o* III:438 (cf. *H a n* 3 p. 42; *S ü n* k. 18 p. 8 and *L ü* p. 400) records *Yuek75 cheng-77* as chief of music, a charge which also occurs in *H a n* 4 p. 43. In *L ü* p. 178 this term is probably part of a name and not a denomination of some functionary. The actual status of *Yuek75 shī50* in *M o* p. 13:20 cannot be precisely defined, but it may be but another designation of the chief of music.

169—182. The *Chou Li* assigns various musicians to the department of music. There we meet with *Ku:109 meng109* (Office 169), who are blind musicians beating the drums and playing other instruments and singing to the accompaniment of stringed instruments, and whose assistants are *Shī-109 liao-109* (Office 170). Other musicians are *Tien:12 t'ung;30* (Office 171), who tune the instruments; *K'ing-112 shī50* (Office 172) who beat musical stones and strike sets of bells; *Chung167 shī50* (Office 173), who beat drums and strike bells; *Sheng118 shī50* (Office 174), who play reed organs; *Pok167 shī50* (Office 175), who are in charge of the drum that gives the tone for the bells and drums; *Mei-178 shī50* (Office 176), who are in charge of the music of the eastern barbarians; *Mao;70 jen9* (Office 177), instructors in foreign dances and music; *Yuek118 shī50* (Office 178), instructors in the feather-dance and in playing the flute; *Yuek118 chang117* (Office 179), who beat the drum of earth and play the Pin-flute; *Ti177 kü-177 shī-83* (Office 180), who are in charge of the music and songs from the four eastern barbarian tribes; *Tien:12 yung53 k'i-30* (Office 181), keepers of musical instruments; as well as *Sī30 kan51* (Office 182), keepers of instruments used by the dancers. Offices 171—175, 178—179 are

Cheng	— <i>L i e</i> p. 57.
Lu	— <i>K u o</i> k. 4,11a; k. 5,10a.
Tsin	— <i>T s o</i> II:307, 336, 342, 445, 544, 546, III:152—153. <i>K u o</i> k. 14,5b. <i>M e n g</i> p. 288. <i>C h u a n g</i> k. 1,10a; k. 4,1b, 7b. <i>H a n</i> 1 p. 42;3 pp. 51,83. <i>S ü n</i> k. 19 p. 31. <i>L i e</i> p. 51. <i>L i</i> I:221. <i>L ü</i> pp. 140—141. <i>Y i</i> k. 9,3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, 5a. (All passages referring to the same person.)
<i>Ku:109:</i>	<i>T s o</i> II:310. <i>K u o</i> k. 3,1b; k. 10,3a, 11b; k. 17,9a. — <i>K u o</i> k. 3,15b is recorded for ancient times.
Royal Chou	— <i>K u o</i> k. 1,5a, 7b.
<i>Kung48:</i>	
Lu	— <i>K u o</i> k. 4,9a.
Tsin	— <i>T s o</i> III:167.

Chung2 shi-33 and Offices 176—177, 180—182 *Hia-1 shi-33*. (Chou I:405—409, II:53—68.)

In the free texts we meet with various terms indicating musicians, viz.:

Ku:109 — Shī p. 245 (Royal Chou). Han 4 p. 43.

Ku:207 — Lun p. 337.

Meng109 — Shī p. 197; Kuo k. 1,5a; Lü p. 359 (Royal Chou). Kuo k. 10,18b k. 17,9b. Tso II:317 (Cheng).

Sou:109 — Shī p. 197; Kuo k. 1,5a (Royal Chou). Kuo k. 10,18b.

In all probability *Shi50* in Tso II:274,316, recorded for Cheng, and Kuo k. 17,9a likewise indicates the musicians. To the same group we may also refer the hand-drummers, *Po-64 t'ao:207*, in Lu (Lun p. 338).

That the *Meng109 sou:109* in Shī p. 197, quoted above, were identical with the *Ku:109 meng109* (Office 169) was already recognized by Cheng Hsuan; on the other hand, in Kuo k. 1,5a *Meng109* and *Sou:109* are treated as two separate groups within the profession of blind musicians, but taken together they cover the *Ku:109 meng109* class.

Kung48 and *Nü:38 yüek75* are male and female musicians, whose actual status it is impossible to define more precisely.¹⁾ Another musical office is called *Ling9*, *Ling9 jen9*, *Ling85* or *Ling85 jen9*.²⁾ It is difficult to define more precisely their actual status, but the context mostly indicates an authoritative position, perhaps even that of the *Ta-37 si30 yüek75* (Office 163).

Evidently, *Kik64 k'ing-112* in Lun p. 338, recorded for Lu, may be identified with Office 172, *K'ing-112 shi50*, in the Chou Li. In Sün k. 14 p. 8 *Sheng118* probably indicates musicians playing reed organs, i. e. they corresponds to Office 174, *Sheng118 shi50*. Office 178, *Yüek118 shi50*, is met with as *Yüek118 jen9*, recorded for early Royal Chou, in Yi k. 4,6b—7b.

¹⁾ *Kung48*:

	Tso II:310. Kuo k. 17,9a. Sün k. 14 p. 8. Han 4 p. 43.
Cheng	— Lü p. 140.
Lu	— Tso II:513, 531.
Tsin	— Tso II:199.

Nü:38 yüek75:

	Mo p. 39:66.
Royal Chou	— Lie p. 29.
Cheng	— Tso II:275. Kuo k. 13,5b.
Ts'i	— Lun p. 332.
Ts'in	— Lü p. 412 (cf. Lü p. 418).

In Tso III:445 they are referred to a dignitary's household.

²⁾ *Ling9*:

Royal Chou	— Kuo k. 3,14a, 15b.
Tsin	— Kuo k. 5,1b.

Ling9 jen9:

Royal Chou	— Kuo k. 3,15a-b.
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Ling85:

Royal Chou	— Tso III:331.
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Ling85 jen9:

Ch'u	— Tso II:77.
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183—190. The department of divination is headed by *Ta-37 puk25* (Office 183), the chiefs of divination by tortoise and directors of the diviners with the rank of *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*. In the same department we meet with oracle officers such as *Puk25 shi50* (Office 184), who assist and supervise the procedure of divination by tortoise shell; *Kuei213 jen9* (Office 185), keepers of the six kinds of tortoises and their varieties; *Shuei140 shi-83* (Office 186), who furnish burning material and utensils for the perforation of the tortoise shell in divination; *Chan25 jen9* (Office 187), who make prognostics from the tortoise shell and milfoil; *Shi-118 jen9* (Office 188), diviners by milfoil; *Chan25 meng-36* (Office 189), interpreters of dreams; as well as *Shi-109 tsin113* (Office 190), who interpret celestial phenomena. Office 184 has the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33*, while Offices 185, 188—190 are *Chung2 shi-33* and Offices 186—187 *Hia-1 shi-33*. (C h o u I:409—411, II:69—85.)

In the free texts the department of divination is described in a somewhat more simplified and less systematized way than in the Chou Li. The chiefs of divination by tortoise appear there under various terms, such as *T'ai-37 puk25*, *Puk25*, *Puk25 cheng-77*, *Puk25 jen9*, *Puk25 shi-33* and *Puk25 yin:44*.¹⁾ Evidently, the *Shou:40 kuei 213* in Lu (T s o III:489; K u o k. 5,10a) and Tsin (L ü p. 300) held the same office and took part in the nomination of the Ruler (T s o III:489; cf. C h o u II:73). In the enumeration in the Chou Li of the staff directly attached to the *Ta-37 puk25* (Office 183) we also meet with *Puk25 jen9*, diviners, who, however, seem to have been no more than coadjutors in this office.

In S h u p. 32 a distinction is made between diviners by tortoise and by milfoil, i. e. *Puk25* and *Shi-118 jen9*, recorded for Royal Chou in the early part of the Chou era. The diviners by milfoil may also be called *Shi-118 shi:30* in T s o I:410 and

¹⁾ *T'ai-37 puk25*:

Chao — C h a n k. 1 p. 6.

Ts'i — Y e n k. 7,7a.

Puk25:

Royal Chou — S h u p. 32.

Liang — T s o I:313.

Lu — T s o I:217, 545, III:100, 502. (Referring to the same person, except T s o III:502.)

Tsin — T s o I:213, 236, 256, 290, 299, 340, 424. K u o k. 8,5b. (Referring to the same person, except T s o I:299.)

Ts'in — T s o I:295.

Wei-144 — T s o I:422.

Puk25 cheng-77:

Royal Chou — T s o I:55. The ancestors of the prince of T'eng are said to have held this charge.

Puk25 jen9:

Lu — T s o III:481. Cf. *Puk25* above.

Tsin — T s o I:245, III:30.

Wei-144 — T s o III:728.

Puk25 shi-33:

Lu — T s o I:92.

Puk25 yin:44:

Ch'u — T s o III:219.

K u o k. 10,10a, recorded for Tsin. In a few instances *Puk25* and *Puk25 jen9* are also said to divine by milfoil (T s o I:217, 295) or explain the milfoil oracle (T s o I:245) according to the Yi King (T s o III:100). This is an indication that in middle and late feudal Chou periods there were no definite boundaries between the tasks of the diviners by tortoise and by milfoil.

Though there is no title corresponding to the *Puk25 shi50* (Office 184) in the free texts, it is nevertheless clear that such an office existed, as is shown by T s o III:219, where someone, *Tso-9 k'ai169 puk25*, "was assistant in interpreting the oracle".

The interpreters of dreams (Office 189) occur also in the free texts as *Chan25 meng-109* in Y e n k. 1,8b, 9a; k. 6,2a—2b, recorded for Ts'i, and *Chan25 meng-36* in T s o III:728, recorded for Wei-144. It is difficult to tell, whether the *Ta-37 jen9* in S h i pp. 131—132 indicates this functionary or, possibly, the *Ta-37 puk25* (Office 183).

191—198. The chief prayer-masters, *Ta-37 chuk113* (Office 191) hold the rank of *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*. As their assistants the Chou Li records *Siao:42 chuk113* (Office 192), vice prayer-masters; *Sang-30 chuk113* (Office 193), *Tien-102 chuk113* (Office 194), *Tsu:149 chuk113* (Office 195), i. e. prayer-masters at burials, for hunting and covenants, as well as *Si30 wu48* (Office 196), the chiefs of the magicians, and *Nan102 wu48* and *Nu:38 wu48* (Offices 197—198), i. e. the male and female magicians. Office 193 holds the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33*, whereas Offices 192 and 196 are *Chung2 shi-33* and Offices 194—195 *Hia-1 shi-33*. (C h o u I:411—413, II:85—104.)

In the free texts the chief prayer-master is met with as *Ta-37 chuk113*, *T'ai-85 chuk113*, *Chuk113*, *Chuk113 jen9*, *Chuk113 shi:30*, *Tsi-113 shi:30* and *Tsung40 chuk113*.¹⁾ The *Siao:42 chuk113* (Office 192), called *Shao-chuk113*, is expressly

¹⁾ *Ta-37 chuk113*:

Royal Chou — Y i k. 6,13b.

T'ai-85 chuk113:

Ts'i — Y e n k. 1,9b.

Chuk113:

S h i p. 162. K u o k. 18,1b, 4a. C h u a n g k. 7,3a.

Royal Chou — K u o k. 1,12a; k. 2,10a. L i I:249. Y i k. 7,6b.

Ch'en — T s o II:431.

Cheng — T s o III:272, 287, 288.

Kuo — T s o I:204—205.

Lu — T s o III:274, 275, 689.

Suei — T s o I:87.

Sung — T s o II:234—235.

Ts'i — T s o II:423, III:319, 321. Y e n k. 1,3a; k. 7,3a.

Wei-144 — T s o II:303, III:310, 500, 501. L u n pp. 190, 283—284.

In T s o II:153, 488, III:320 (cf. K u o k. 12,5b) the *Chuk113* is also recorded for private households in Tsin.

Chuk113 jen9:

H a n 4 p. 67.

indicated for Royal Chou in *Yi k.* 6,13b. But there is yet another title, *Ya-7 chuk113*, in *Yi k.* 6,13b, also recorded for Royal Chou, the position of which is doubtful.

Offices 193 and 195, *Sang-30 chuk113* and *Tsu:149 chuk113*, are identified with the *Chuk113* in *Li I*:207 and *Tso III*:764, as this title appears in connection with burials and covenants.

The magicians (Offices 196—198) may be male or female. The former are then designated *Hik147* in *Kuo k.* 18,1a and *Sün k.* 12, p. 15 or *Hua-21 jen9* in *Lie p.* 29, and the latter *Wu48* in *Kuo k.* 18,1a and *Sün k.* 12 p. 15. Owing to the combination of *Wu48* and *K'uang22* in *Sün k.* 12 p. 6 and *Wu48* and *Kik64* in *Sün k.* 5 p. 22 it is probable that these terms indicate the female and male magician respectively. On the other hand, the *Wu48* in various other passages in the free texts is but another denomination of the magicians in general.¹⁾

199—205. The department of recorders is headed by the chief recorders, *Ta-37 shi:30* (Office 199), who are *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*. In the same department there are also the vice-recorders, *Siao:42 shi:30* (Office 200); astronomers, *P'ing:187 siang-109 shi-83* (Office 201); astrologers, *Pao:9 chang117 shi-83* (Office 202); Court recorders, *Nei-11 shi:30* (Office 203); recorders of the exterior, who prepare orders and take care of records from various parts of the state and of documents related to the three sovereigns and the five emperors, *Wai-36 shi:30* (Office 204); as well as the secretaries, *Yu-60 shi:30* (Office 205). Office 203 holds the rank of *Chung2 ta-37 fu37*, whereas Office 204 is *Shang-1 shi-33* and Offices 200—202, 205 are *Chung2 shi-33*. (*Chou I*:413—415, *II*:104—121.)

During the entire Chou period the chief recorders are in the free texts called *Ta-37 (T'ai-37) shi:30* or simply *Shi:30*.²⁾ In all probability, the *Chou30 jen9*

Chuk113 shi:30:

Wei-144 — *Tso III*:757.

Tsi-113 shi:30:

Tsin — *Tso III*:279.

Tsung40 chuk113:

Royal Chou — *Yi k.* 4,5b.

¹⁾ *Wu48*:

Kuo k. 18,2a. *Meng p.* 204. *Lie p.* 70. *Li I*:207. *Yi k.* 4,13a.

Cheng — *Chuang k.* 3,10a.

Ch'u — *Tso I*:497, *II*:520. *Yen k.* 1,6a-b.

Lu — *Tso I*:327 (cf. *Li I*:261). *Li I*:236:

— *Lie p.* 36.

Ts'i — *Lie p.* 21.

Tsin — *Tso II*:84, 85.

Wei-144 — *Kuo k.* 1,4b.

²⁾ *Ta-37 (T'ai-37) shi:30*:

Royal Chou — *Shu pp.* 46, 68, 70, 71. *Tso II*:206, *III*:631. *Kuo k.* 1,6b, 7a, 7b, 8a; k. 5,8b. *Yi k.* 5,1a; k. 6,13b; k. 7,6b.

Cheng — *Tso II*:560, *III*:27—28.

Lu — *Tso I*:550, *III*:44, 274, 671.

Ts'i — *Tso II*:426, *III*:696. *Chan k.* 13 p. 7.

in Lu (Tso III:613—614) and the *Si30 tien:12* or *Si30 . . . tien:12 tsik118* in Tsin (Tso III:258) likewise indicate the charge of the recorder. According to the Chou Li (Chou II:106—107) the *Ta-37 shi:30* is also in charge of the calendar, a charge which is attributed to him in Tso I:124, where he is called *Jit72 kuan40* at Royal Chou and *Jit72 yu-60* at the courts of the feudal princes.

In a few instances in the free texts (Tso I:304, 513, II:133, 420, III:150—151; Kuo k. 7,1b; Chan k. 32 p. 87 and Lie p. 36) the *Shi:30* also deals with divination by tortoise and by milfoil. This may indicate a connection between this title and Offices 183 and 188, though it is more probable that it refers to recorders taking part in divination. In the enumeration of functionaries attached to various offices in the Chou Li (Chou I:4—16, 18—20, 172—191, 398—418, II:141, 143—154, 156—162, 288—296, 298, 302—307) we often meet with *Shi:30*, who are simply scribes.

Offices 200—201 in the Chou Li, i. e. *Siao:42 shi:30* and *P'ing:187 siang-109 shi-83*, may, in the free texts, be identified with *Siao:42 shi:30* in Yi k. 5,1a, recorded for Royal Chou, and *Si30 lik77* in Tso II:497, III:683 respectively.

The Court recorder, *Nei-11 shi:30* (Office 203), is found under the same title.¹⁾ as well as *Shao-42 pi-113* (Yi k. 6,13b), only at the court of Royal Chou, though *Nei-11 shi:30* or simply *Shi:30*, but probably not the same office, are recorded for the state of Ts'in in Chan k. 5 p. 43; Han I p. 48 and Lü p. 418.

There are here two leading dignitaries: *Ta-37 shi:30* (*Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*) and *Nei-11 shi:30* (*Chung2 ta-37 fu37*), the latter one step higher in rank than the former. The Ta Tai Li Ki, chapter Sheng Te (Ta Tai k. 8, 6b—7a), says that *Nei-11 shi:30* and *Ta-37 shi:30* were called *Tso:48 (shi:30)* and *Yu-30 (shi:30)*. This

Tsin	— Tso I:572, III:751. Kuo k. 15,7a. Lü p. 235.
Wei-144	— Tso I:219. Li I:228.
<i>Shi:30:</i>	
Royal Chou	— Shu p. 35. Tso I:180, 302, 526, 638, II:45, 313, (all instances referring to the same person except Shu p. 35 and Tso I:180). Kuo k. 1,7a; k. 3,9b; k. 16,1a. Yen k. 4,6b. Lü p. 294. Yi k. 6,13b.
Chu	— Tso I:513.
Ch'u	— Tso III:215, 510—511. Kuo k. 17,9b, 10a.
Kuo	— Tso I:205. Kuo k. 8,4b. (Both instances referring to the same person.)
Lu	— Tso III:274—275. Kuo k. 4,9a.
Sung	— Chan k. 32 p. 87. Chuang k. 7,11b (<i>Shi:30</i> may here be a misprint). Lie p. 36.
Ts'i	— Tso II:420, III:319, 321. Yen k. 1,5b. Lie p. 74. Lü p. 24.
Tsin	— Tso I:304, 572, II:133, 530, 544, 545, III:30, 155, 160, 188, 258, 457, 472, 473, 479, 657, 746. Kuo k. 3,1b; k. 7,1b, 2a, 5a; k. 13,1b. Lü pp. 163, 357.
Ts'in	— Tso II:92. Chan k. I p. 3. Lü p. 257.
Wei-144	— Tso I:219, II:537, III:150—151, 580. Chan k. 29 p. 64. Lun p. 296. Sün k. 3 p. 19. Lü p. 357.
Wei-194	— Lü pp. 250, 449.
	<i>Shi:30</i> , the recorder, may also occur in private households in Tsin (Tso II:488, III:320).

¹⁾ Shu p. 46. Shi p. 139. Tso I:72, 204 (cf. Kuo k. 1,11a), 282 (cf. Kuo k. 1,12b), 310, 401, 441, 519, II:254. Kuo k. 1,12b, 14b—15a. Lü pp. 234, 425.

would seem to fix the *Nei-11 shi:30* as the *Tso:48 shi:30*, who also appears as *Shi:30* in the free texts;¹⁾ but that is wrong.

Nei-11 (a) and *Ta-37* (b) = *Tso:48* (b) and *Yu-30* (a) is one of those chiasmi so common in classical Chinese. Since we have seen (cf. Office 2 above) how a *Yu-30 shi:50* is superior to a *Tso:48 shi:50*, his assistant, and (cf. Office 1 above) how a *Yu-30 tsai:40* is equal to the Premier, *Ta-37 tsai:40*, and since *Yu-30* is thus undoubtedly higher than *Tso:48* and the *Nei-11 shi:30* has a higher rank than the *Ta-37 shi:30*, the conclusion must be that *Nei-11 shi:30* is equal to *Yu-30 shi:30* and *Ta-37 shi:30* to *Tso:48 shi:30*.

The recorders of the exterior, *Wai-36 shi:30*, (Office 204) are met with under the same title in *Tso* II:403, recorded for Lu, as well as simply *Shi:30* in *Kuo* k. 1,5a (cf. Wei Chao's commentary), recorded for Royal Chou. In *Tso* II:426 we also meet with the recorder called *Nan24 shi:30 shi-83*, recorded for Ts'i. The text gives no information about his actual status, but it is possible that he fulfilled the same charge as the *Wai-36 shi:30* in the Chou Li.

It is possible but by no means certain that the *Yu-60 shi:30* in *Chan* k. 19 p. 58; k. 26 p. 31 and *Shang Kun* p. 330, recorded for Chao, Han and Ts'in, is identifiable with Office 205 in the Chou Li.

206—208. The intendants of the public carriages, *Kin50 kü159* (Office 206), are *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*. Connected with them are also the intendants of the Royal Lu-chariots, *Tien:12 lu-157* (Office 207), and of the five war-chariots, *Kü159 p'uk9* (Office 208), both of whom hold the rank of *Chung2 shi-33*. (*Chou* I:416—417, II:122—133.)

Office 206 is met with under the same title in *Tso* II: 570, III:614, recorded for Tsin and Lu respectively. During the Hia dynasty a similar officer was said to have existed but then designated *Kü159 cheng-77* (*Tso* III:485). In the middle and late feudal Chou periods there were also in private households functionaries in charge of the carriages, but they were then called *Ch'ai48 kü159* and *Kü159 tsi* in *Tso* III:634—635, 691, recorded for Ts'i and Lu.

In Ch'u we meet with a special functionary, *Lien162 yin:44*, who was in charge of the Lien carriages (*Tso* I:634, II:24, 37, 315, III:431; *Kuo* k. 13,2a and *Lü* p. 387), and whom we may also connect with the office of the *Kin50 kü159*. The same might also be true of the *Ts'it1 yü:159 ta-37 fu37* in *Tso* I:281, II:389; *Kuo* k. 8,7b; k. 9,3a, recorded for Tsin, who, however, were functionaries attached to the army.

209. The nine kinds of flags are entrusted to the *Si30 ch'ang;50* with the rank of *Chung2 shi-33*. (*Chou* I:417, II:133—137.)

¹⁾ *Tso:48 shi:30*:

Royal Chou — *Yi* k. 8,3a.

Ch'u — *Tso* III:207—208, 732. *Kuo* k. 17,8b, 9a. (All referring to the same person.) — Cf. also *Shi30* below.

Tsin — *Tso* II:297.

Shi:30:

Ch'u — *Tso* III:207.

210—211. *Tu163 tsung40 jen9* (Office 210), the ritual masters of the prefectural cities and *Kia40 tsung40 jen9* (Office 211), those of the appanage cities of the dignitaries, are *Shang-1 shi-33* (*Chou* I;418, II:137—140) and have already been referred to in Office 143 above, note 1 end.

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The general staff of the cult department consists of the chief of staff, *Ta-37 tsung40 pok9* (Office 143), and his assistants, *Siao:42 tsung40 pok9* and *Si-129 shi50* (Offices 144—145). The former are the vice-ministers of the cult department and the latter the directors of the sacrifices.

The personnel of the cult department may be divided into six main groups according to their specific field of activities: i. e. ritual officers, musicians, oracle officers, prayer-masters, recorders and officials in charge of carriages.

The ritual officers supervise the libations, *Yut192 jen9*; prepare aromatic spirits of black millet, *Ch'ang-192 jen9*; delivers fowls for sacrifices, *Ki172 jen9*; are in charge of the Tsun and Yi vessels, *Si30 tsun41 yi;58*, as well as of small tables and bamboo mats, *Si30 ki16 yen;118* (Offices 146—150). Other ritual officers are the treasurer in charge of jade and valuable objects belonging to the state and kept in the ancestral temple, *T'ien37 fu:53*; and officers in charge of the state seals of jade, *Tien:12 juei-96*; the Ming-emblems, *Tien:12 ming-30*; the court garments, *Si30 fuk74*; and the altars for sacrifices in the exterior of the palace, *Tien:12 si;113* (Offices 151—155). The shrines for the remote ancestors and their garments in the ancestral temple are entrusted to the *Shou:40 t'iao113* (Office 156).

In each palace there are two *Shi-1 fu-38* (Office 157), who direct the rites performed by the ladies in the palace. Under their direction are *Nei-11 tsung40* and *Wai-36 tsung40* (Offices 158—159), ladies who assist in sacrifices and rites.

The princely and the people's burial-grounds are in charge of the *Chung:14 jen9* and *Mu-32 ta-37 fu37* (Offices 160—161) respectively, whereas *Chik128 sang-30* (Office 162) direct the burials of the feudal princes and the dignitaries. The ritual masters in the prefectural cities and in the appanage cities of the dignitaries are called *Tu163 tsung40 jen9* and *Kia40 tsung40 jen9* (Offices 210—211) respectively.

The directors of the conservatory, *Ta-37 si30 yuek75* (Office 163), are the chiefs of music, whereas their assistants, *Yuek75 shi50* (Office 164) give instruction in music and dancing. To the same department belong also the chiefs of the blind musicians, *Ta-37 shi50* (Office 167), and their assistants, *Siao:42 shi50* (Office 168). In the conservatory there are also special inspectors of the students, *Ta-37 su130* and *Siao:42 su130* (Offices 165—166).

The blind musicians, *Ku:109 meng109* (Office 169), have as their assistants the *Shi-109 liao-109* (Office 170). Other musicians are *Tien:12 t'ung;30* (Office 171), who tune the instruments; *K'ing-112 shi50* (Office 172), who beat musical stones and strike sets of bells; *Chung167 shi50* (Office 173), who beat drums and strike bells; *Sheng118 shi50* (Office 174), who play reed organs; *Pok167 shi50* (Office

175), who are in charge of the drum that gives the tone for bells and drums; *Mei-178 shi50* (Office 176), who are in charge of the music of the eastern barbarians; *Mao;70 jen9* (Office 177), instructors in foreign dances and music; *Yuek118 shi50* (Office 178), instructors in the feather-dance and in playing the flute; *Yuek118 chang117* (Office 179), who beat the drum of earth and play the Pin-flute; *Ti177 kü-177 shi-83* (Office 180), who are in charge of the music and songs from the four eastern barbarian tribes; *Tien:12 yung53 k'i-30* (Office 181), keepers of musical instruments; as well as *Si30 kan51* (Office 182), who are in charge of instruments used by the dancers.

The department of divination is headed by *Ta-37 puk25* (Office 183). In this department we meet with various oracle officers such as *Puk25 shi50* (Office 184), who assist and supervise the procedure of divination by tortoise shell; *Kuei213 jen9* (Office 185), keepers of tortoises; *Shuei140 shi-83* (Office 186), who furnish burning materials and utensils for the perforation of the tortoise shell in divination; *Chan25 jen9* (Office 187), who make prognostics from the tortoise shell and milfoil; *Shi-118 jen9* (Office 188), diviners by milfoil; *Chan25 meng-36* (Office 189), interpreters of dreams; and *Shi-109 tsin113* (Office 190), who interpret celestial phenomena.

The chief prayer-masters, *Ta-37 chuk113* (Office 191), have as their assistants the *Siao:42 chuk113* (Office 192), vice-prayer-masters, as well as *Sang-30 chuk113*, *Tien-102 chuk113* and *Tsu:149 chuk113* (Offices 193—195), i. e. prayer-masters at burials, for hunting and covenants. Among them we should also count the chiefs of the magicians, *Si30 wu48* (Office 196), and the male and female magicians, *Nan102 wu48* and *Nü:38 wu48* (Offices 197—198).

The chief recorders are *Ta-37 shi:30* (Office 199). In the same department we also meet with *Siao:42 shi:30* (Office 200), vice-recorders; *P'ing;187 siang-109 shi-83* (Office 201), astronomers; *Pao:9 chang117 shi-83* (Office 202), astrologers; *Nei-11 shi:30* (Office 203), Court recorders; *Wai-36 shi:30* (Office 204), recorders of the exterior; as well as *Yü-60 shi:30* (Office 205), secretaries.

Kin50 kü159 (Office 206) are intendants of the public carriages, while *Tien:12 lu-157* and *Kü159 p'uk9* (Offices 207—208) are intendants of the Lu and war chariots. *Si30 ch'ang;50* (Office 209) are in charge of the nine kinds of flags.

* * *

IV. THE DEPARTMENT OF WAR

212—216. The minister of war, *Ta-37 si30 ma:187* or *Si30 ma:187* (Office 212) holds the rank of *K'ing26* and has on his staff the *Siao:42 si30 ma:187* (Office 213), *Kün159 si30 ma:187* (Office 214), *Yü;159 si30 ma:187* (Office 215) and *Hang;144 si30 ma:187* (Office 216). Although the Chou Li text regarding these charges is lost, we know that their ranks are *Chung2 ta-37 fu37*, *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*, *Shang-1 shi-33* and *Chung2 shi-33* respectively. (C h o u II:140—141, 162—186.)

The minister of war is frequently met with in the free texts as *Ta-37 si30 ma:187* or simply *Si30 ma:187*¹⁾ as well as *Si30 wu:77* in *Tso* II:214, recorded for Sung, and *Tsiang-41* in *Kuan* k. 8 p. 161, recorded for Ts'i. In the early part of the Chou era the same office is probably indicated by the *K'i:32 fu-88* or *K'i:113 fu-88* in *Shu* p. 46 and *Shi* p. 127 respectively and probably by *Ts'ou:156 ma:187* (cf. Office 263 below) in *Shi* pp. 139, 226.

The vice-minister of war occurs in Sung (*Tso* III:334) and Wu (*Kuo* k. 19,8a) but is then called *Shao-42 si30 ma:187*. In *Tso* II:315 it is clear that the *Tso:48 si30 ma:187* and *Yu-30 si30 ma:187* fulfil the charge of vice-ministers of war in Ch'u.²⁾ In *Chan* k. 18 p. 46 and *Kuan* k. 24 p. 526, we also meet with the *Tso:48 si30 ma:187* in Tsin and Ts'i but it is here doubtful whether it indicates the same office as in Ch'u.

Kun159 si30 ma:187 (Office 214) is evidently a charge in the army. In the free texts this functionary may be called simply *Si30 ma:187* as in Tsin (*Tso* I:613, II:8, 171, 195, 344 and *Kuo* k. 13,5b), where he may be attached to the central (*Tso* II:196, 321, III:529 and *Kuo* k. 13,4a) as well as to the upper legion (*Tso* III:576). The *Si30 ma:187* in the central legion in Tsin is also called *Yuan;10 si30 ma:187* (*Kuo* k. 13,3a), which thus seems to correspond to *Kun159 si30 ma:187*.

It seems probable that the *Yu;159 si30 ma:187* in the Tsin-army (*Kuo* k. 13,3a) indicates Office 215 in the Chou Li. The office of the *Hang;144 si30 ma:187* (Office 216) is apparently without counterpart in the free texts.

¹⁾ *Ta-37 si30 ma:187*:

- Ch'u — *Tso* II:315, 556. *Chan* k. 15 p. 30.
- Sung — *Tso* I:20 and passim; cf. Index.
- Ts'i — *Han* 3 p. 46 (cf. *Lü* p. 275).

Si30 ma:187:

- Royal Chou — *Shu* pp. 29, 46, 68. *Kuo* k. 2,10a.
- Ch'en — *Tso* II:430—431.
- Cheng — *Tso* II:185, 259, III:288.
- Ch'u — *Tso* I:379 and passim; cf. Index. *Kuo* k. 17, 11a. *Chan* k. 1 p. 6; k. 27 p. 44; k. 33 pp. 94—95. *Chuang* k. 9,8a. *Han* 1 pp. 15, 39, 40 (cf. *Han* 2 p. 12 and *Lü* p. 210). *Sün* k. 3 p. 3.
- Chung Shan — *Chan* k. 33 pp. 93—94.
- Lu — *Tso* III:95, 670.
- Sung — *Ch'un* I:491, 524. *Tso* I:68 and passim; cf. Index. *Kuo* k. 10,5a. *Meng* p. 366. *Lun* p. 251. *Lü* p. 203. *Li* I:165.
- Ts'ai — *Tso* II:225, 230, 357.
- Ts'i — *Tso* III:70, 344, 703. *Chan* k. 2 p. 14; k. 13 pp. 7,11. *Yen* k. 5,3b; k. 7,6b. *Kuan* k. 10 p. 192.
- Tsin — *Tso* I:406—407 and passim; cf. Index. *Kuo* k. 11,2a.
- Ts'in — *Chan* k. 3 p. 23.
- Wei-194 — *Chan* k. 25 p. 20.

The master of the horse, *Si30 ma:187*, is also met with in a dignitary's household in Lu (*Tso* III:391).

²⁾ They occur in *Tso* II:188, 315, III:422, 461, 469, 509, 513, 620, 740; *Chan* k. 31 p. 77 and *Han* 2 p. 42; 3 p. 32 (all recorded for Ch'u). *Tso:48 si30 ma:187* may also appear as simply *Si30 ma:187* in *Tso* III:513.

In T s o III:304, 440 the *Sì30 ma:187* in Ch'u and Tsin act as governors of certain areas, an office which is probably also held by the *Sì30 ma:187* in M o p. 115:33. In T s o I:499 *Tso:48 sì30 ma:187* and *Yu-30 sì30 ma:187*, who are said to take part in a hunting-party, may in all probability be identified with the *Kün159 sì30 ma:187* (Office 214) in the Chou Li (thus differing from those in Ch'u above), since the great hunts were regarded and planned as war manoeuvres.

217. The directors of rewards, *Sì30 hün19*, are *Shang-1 shì-33*. (C h o u II:143, 186—188.)

218. The valuers and purchasers of horses, *Ma:187 chüt154*, hold the rank of *Chung2 shì-33*. (C h o u II:143, 188—190.)

219. *Liang166 jen9* hold the rank of *Hia-1 shì-33* and are landsurveyors staking out city-walls, entrenchments, camps etc. (C h o u II:143, 190—191.)

220. *Siao:42 tsì* are assistants at sacrifices, their duties being to cut up sacrificial animals and to smear sacrificial blood in sacrifices generally and in those connected with warlike expeditions and great hunts. They hold the rank of *Hia-1 shì-33*. (C h o u II:144, 191—193.)

221. *Yang;123 jen9* are *Hia-1 shì-33*, being in charge of the sacrificial sheep, their duties being analogous to the preceding. (C h o u II:144, 193—194.)

222. The directors of fire, *Sì30 kuan-86*, are *Hia-1 shì-33* supervising the ordinances regulating the use of fire. (C h o u II: 144, 194—196.) In all probability they are identifiable with the *Huo:86 shì50* in K u o k. 2,10a, recorded for early Royal Chou.

223—224. *Chang:64 ku-31* (Office 223) are *Shang-1 shì-33* in charge of the fortifications in the cities, whereas *Sì30 hien:170* (Office 224), who are *Chung2 shì-33*, are in charge of the topography of the country. (C h o u II:144—145, 196—199.)

225. *Chang:64 kiang102* are *Chung2 shì-33*. The Chou Li text regarding this charge has been lost. (C h o u II:145, 199.) It seems probable that the *Kiang102 li-30* in T s o I:123, recorded for Lu, may be identified with this charge.

226. *Hou-9 jen9* are in charge of the roads in their regions, escort visitors and arrange the placing of sentinels. They hold the rank of *Shang-1 shì-33* (C h o u II:145, 200) and are met with as *Hou-9 jen9* in K u o k. 2,10a, recorded for Royal Chou, and K u a n k. 12 p. 249 as well as *Hou-9* in T s o II:371 and K u o k. 2,8b, recorded for Royal Chou and Ch'en. They should not be confused with the *Hou-9 cheng-77* (*Hou-9 yen37*, *Yüan;10 hou-9*) described on p. 71 note 1 below.

227. *Huan;96 jen9* are public security officers with the rank of *Hia-1 shì-33*, who challenge the army to fight, inspect subversive elements and seize spies and thieves. (C h o u II:146, 200—201.)

228. *K'iet*⁶⁴ *hu*;31 *shī*-83 are *Hia*-1 *shī*-33 in charge of the digging of wells for the army and the placing of water-clocks there. (C h o u II:146, 201—202.)

229. *She*-41 *jen*⁹ are *Hia*-1 *ta*-37 *fu*³⁷ directing the ritual archery (C h o u II:146, 202—209) and may probably be identified with the *She*-41 *jen*⁹ *shī*⁵⁰ in L i I:160 and *She*-41 *shī*⁵⁰ in Y i k. 2,4a (Royal Chou).

230. *Fuk*⁷⁴ *put* *shī*-83, the trainer of wild animals, is *Hia*-1 *shī*-33 and indicates the hits on the target at ritual archery. (C h o u II:147, 209—210.) In L i e p. 17, recorded for Royal Chou, he is, however, designated *Muk*⁹³ *cheng*-77. The context here shows that it cannot very well be a question of Office 77 above.

231. *She*-41 *niao*:196 *shī*-83 is *Hia*-1 *shī*-33 and shoots birds with a bow. At ritual archery he withdraws the arrows from the target. (C h o u II:147, 210—211.)

232. *Lo*¹²² *shī*-83 is *Hia*-1 *shī*-33 and catches noxious birds with bird-nets. (C h o u II:147, 211.)

233. *Chang*:64 *huk*¹⁰² hold the rank of *Hia*-1 *shī*-33 and are stockbreeders of birds. (C h o u II:147, 212.)

234. *Si*³⁰ *shī*-33 are *Hia*-1 *ta*-37 *fu*³⁷. They supervise the Shī nobles, *Shī*-33, and keep records of them and attend to their promotion or degradation. (C h o u II:148, 212—218.) The *Si*³⁰ *shī*-33 in L i I:175, recorded for Lu, may possibly be part of a name but was probably the title of this office, thus tallying with the Chou Li, whereas the same title in T s o II:171, recorded for Tsin, indicates a charge in the Tsin army, subordinate to the *Yu*-30, i. e. Office 253 in the Chou Li.

235. *Chu* *tsī* are *Hia*-1 *ta*-37 *fu*³⁷ and supervise the sons of the dignitaries and their education. (C h o u II:148, 218—221.) In the early part of the Chou era the *Wai*-36 *shu*-53 *tsī*, 'provincial tutors of the noble youths', in S h u p. 42, recorded for Royal Chou, evidently indicates the same office. It is also possible that the *Kung*¹² *tsuk*⁷⁰ *ta*-37 *fu*³⁷ in Tsin (T s o II:144, 170, 321, 364, III:109 and K u o k. 13,2b) fulfilled an office similar to that of the *Chu* *tsī*. In T s o II:170 *Kung*¹² *tsuk*⁷⁰ *ta*-37 *fu*³⁷ are said to be four in number and are charged to instruct the *K'ing*²⁶'s sons and younger brothers in respect, filial piety and brotherly submission. These instructions *Ta*-37 *fu*³⁷ are directed by some special functionary (T s o II:220 and K u o k. 13,5b).

236. *Si*³⁰ *yu*-30 hold the rank of *Shang*-1 *shī*-33 and direct the soldiers to the right of the chariots. (C h o u II:149, 221—222.)

237—238. *Hu*:141 *pen*¹⁵⁴ *shī*-83, the chiefs of the Royal body-guard, (Office 237) hold the rank of *Hia*-1 *ta*-37 *fu*³⁷, whereas *Lü*:70 *pen*¹⁵⁴ *shī*-83 (Office 238) are

runners escorting the Royal chariot with lance and shield in their hands and hold the rank of *Hia-1 shi-33*. (C h o u II:149—150, 222—224.) The chiefs of the Royal body-guard ('the chiefs of the tiger braves') are met with as *Hu:141 pen154* and *Hu:141 ch'en;131* in S h u pp. 67, 70, where they are recorded for Royal Chou in the beginning of the Chou era. The members of this body-guard are, however, also designated *Hu:141 pen154* in Royal Chou (S h u p. 70; M e n g p. 480 and cf. L ü p. 98) in the beginning of the Chou dynasty as well as in the state of Tsin (T s o I:402, III:257). In K u o k. 5,5a the text states that the King of Chou had *Hu:141 pen154*, whereas the feudal princes had *Lü:70 pen154*, who are also recorded for Wei-144 in K u o k. 17,9a.

239. *Tsiet118 fuk74 shi-83* are *Hia-1 shi-33* in charge of the robes and caps worn by the King at sacrifices and receptions. Six men, belonging to this office carry the great Royal banner. (C h o u II:150, 224.) In S h u p. 67 the text twice records the *Chot120 (Chuei-120) yi145* together with the *Hu:141 pen154* (cf. Office 237 above). In the Chou Li *Tsiet118 fuk74 shi-83* comes immediately after *Hu:141 pen154 shi-83* and *Lü:70 pen154 shi-83* (Offices 237—238). It would then seem very probable that the *Tsiet118 fuk74 shi-83* were equal to the *Chot120 yi145*.

240. *Fang70 siang-109 shi-83*, the exorcists (C h o u II:150, 225), are met with as *K'uang;94 fu37* in T s o I:226, K u o k. 7,10b and Y i k. 5, 11b.

241—245. The King's attendants, i. e. *Siao:42 ch'en;131* (Office 242), *Tsi-113 p'uk9* (Office 243), *Yü-60 p'uk9* (Office 244) and *Li-171 p'uk9* (Office 245), are headed by the *Ta-37 p'uk9* (Office 241), who are *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*. Offices 244, 245 hold the rank of *Hia-1 shi-33*, whereas Offices 242, 243 are *Shang-1 shi-33* and *Chung2 shi-33* respectively. (C h o u II:150—152, 225—234.)

In the free texts the attendants may be met with as *P'uk9, P'uk9 fu37, P'uk9 jen9, P'uk9 kuan40, Wai-36 p'uk9, P'uk9 ta-37 fu37* and *Cheng-77 p'uk9 jen9*.¹⁾ Of

¹⁾ *P'uk9*:

T s o III:129. M o p. 13:23 is referred to high antiquity.
 Royal Chou — S h u p. 67. Y i k. 6,13b. Both referring to the early part of the Chou era.
 Wei-144 — K u o k. 10,13b.
 The *P'uk9* attendants also occur in the noble households, as can be seen in
 T s o II:497; C h u a n g k. 7,9b; L i e p. 34; L ü p. 146.

P'uk9 fu37:

Royal Chou — T s o II:206 (referred to the reign of Wu Wang).
 Ch'u — K u o k. 17,7b.

P'uk9 jen9:

Lu — K u o k. 4,9b.
 Tsin — T s o I:353, II:195 (cf. K u o k. 13,4a), 570. K u o k. 7,10b.
 In Ts'i he is attached to the service of a dignitary (T s o III:747).

P'uk9 kuan40:

Chao — C h a n k. 19 p. 63.

these various *P'uk9*, there is at least one who corresponds to the *Ta-37 p'uk9* (Office 241), i. e. the *P'uk9 fu37* in Ch'u (K u o k. 17,7b, mentioned above), who was, according to Wei Chao (Wei-K u o k. 17,7b), a *Ta-37 fu37* dignitary; evidently likewise (cf. Tu Yü's commentary) a *P'uk9 ta-37 fu37* in Tsin (T s o II:55), who was a high dignitary. On the other hand, the *Cheng-77 p'uk9 jen9* in Ch'u (T s o III:215) was the principal attendant of the Crown Prince and probably corresponds to the *Siao:42 ch'en;131* (Office 242). Furthermore, the *P'uk9 jen9* in T s o II:195, recorded for Tsin, tallies best with the *Yü-60 p'uk9* (Office 244). For *Tsi-113 p'uk9* (Office 243) no direct counterpart can be attested.

In all probability the attendants may also be designated *Chung2 she-41 (chī) shī-33*, *Chung2 sie-149*, *Fu-9 yü-60*, *Shī-9 jen9* and *Sie72 yü-60*.¹⁾

The attendants in noble households (cf. note 1 above) may also be met with as *Kia40 li-171* (T s o III:568) or *Li-171 p'uk9* (S h a n g K ü n p. 300), recorded for Ts'in, as well as *Yü-60 jen9* or *Yü-60 shī:30* (T s o II:565 and H a n 2 p. 91). The latter is recorded for Lu. It is, however, doubtful whether *Yü-60 shī-33* in T s o I:363, II:381, 547, III:334 (recorded for Royal Chou, Ch'u and Sung) are attendants or charioteers.

246. *Pien-55 shī50* are *Hia-1 shī-33* in charge of the ceremonial caps. (C h o u II:152, 234—237.) Probably the *Tien:12 kuan14* in Han (H a n 1 p. 27) may be identified with this charge.

247. *Si30 kiap102* hold the rank of *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*. The Chou Li text regarding this charge has been lost. (C h o u II:152, 237.)

248—252. *Si30 ping12* (Office 248), *Si30 ko62 tun-109* (Office 249), *Si30 kung57 shī:111* (Office 250) and *Shan-120 jen9* (Office 251) hold the rank of *Chung2 shī-33*,

Wai-36 p'uk9:

Cheng — T s o I:438, II:505, III:235.

P'uk9 ta-37 fu37:

Tsin — T s o II:55.

Cheng-77 p'uk9 jen9:

Ch'u — T s o III:215.

¹⁾ *Chung2 she-41 (chī) shī-33:*

Ch'u — C h a n k. 17 p. 38. H a n 1 p. 40; 2 pp. 48, 61.

Chung2 sie-149:

Ch'u — L ü p. 257.

Fu-9 yü-60:

Royal Chou — S h ī p. 227 (recorded for the early part of the Chou era).

Shī-9 jen9:

Lu — T s o III:388.

Ts'i — T s o II:421, 422. M e n g pp. 365—366.

Wei-144 — T s o III:754.

Also recorded for private households; T s o III:334, 674, 695, recorded for Sung Wei-144 and Ts'i.

Sie72 yü-60:

Royal Chou — S h ī p. 141 (recorded for early Chou).

Hia-1 shī-33, *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37* and *Shang-1 shī-33* respectively and are keepers of various kinds of weapons. Thus the *Sī30 ping12* are keepers of five kinds of weapons and shields; *Sī30 ko62 tun-109* of dagger-axes and shields; *Sī30 kung57 shī-111* of six kinds of bows, four kinds of crossbows and eight kinds of arrows; and *Shan-120 jen9* of the Royal bows, crossbows, arrows and quivers. The *K'ao:75 jen9* (Office 252) with the rank of *Chung2 shī-33* are the directors of the makers of arrows, bows and crossbows. (C h o u II:152—154, 237—247.)

253—255. *Jung62 yu-30* (Office 253), *Chai210 yu-30* (Office 254) and *Tao-162 yu-30* (Office 255) hold the rank of *Chung2 ta-37 fu37*, *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37* and *Shang-1 shī-33* and have their place to the right in the Royal war chariot and in the Chai and Tao chariots, i. e. the Chai chariot used by the King at receptions, meetings and sacrifices and the Tao chariot used when he goes for a drive. (C h o u II:154—155, 247—249.)

In the free texts Office 253 is met with as *Jung62 yu-30* in Swei (T s o I:97) and Tsin (T s o I:389; K u o k. 13,2b) as well as simply *Yu-30*.¹⁾ *Yu-30* also indicates the same charge, attached to the service of a nobleman or a dignitary.²⁾ In only one case, T s o II:14, is the *Yu-30* in Ts'i represented in a chariot other than the war chariot proper, i. e. a *Tso-9 kū159*, 'attendant chariot'.

256—261. For the various chariots the Chou Li assigns different charioteers such as *Ta-37 yū-187* (Office 256), *Jung62 p'uk9* (Office 257), *Chai210 p'uk9* (Office 258), *Tao-162 p'uk9* (Office 259), *T'ien:102 p'uk9* (Office 260) and *Yū-187 fu37* (Office 261), that is to say they are drivers of the Royal jade chariot (i. e. the sacrificial chariot), *Yūk96 lu-157*; the war chariot, *Jung62 kū159*; the golden chariot, *Kin167 lu-157* (used at receptions etc.); the ivory chariot, *Siang-152 lu-157* (used when the King goes for a drive); the hunting chariot, *T'ien:102 lu-157*; the attendant chariot, *Er-154 kū159*, the accessory chariot, *Tsung-60 kū159*, and the envoy chariot, *Shī-9 kū159*. Offices 256, 257 are *Chung2 ta-37 fu37* and Office 258 is *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*, whereas Offices 259, 260 have the rank of *Shang-1 shī-33* and Office 261 has that of *Chung2 shī-33*. (C h o u II:155—156, 249—254.)

The charioteers are frequently met with in the free texts under various designations. The drivers of the war chariot (Office 257) may be called *Jung62 yū-60* in Tsin (K u o k. 10,5a; k. 13, 2b) and *Yū-60* (T s o I:625—626) in Ch'u (T s o II:30) and Tsin (T s o I:212, 219, 224, 297, 384, 431, 449, 507, II:108, 171) as well as *P'uk9* in Ch'u (T s o I:653), Lu (T s o III:758), Sung (T s o I:499) and Wei-144 (T s o III:603), whereas the charioteers in general are met with as *Yū-60* in Cheng

¹⁾ *Yu-30*:

Ch'u	— T s o I:629—630, II:30, 133—134.
Lu	— L i I:123—124.
Ts'i	— T s o II:10, 393.
Tsin	— T s o I:212, 297, 384, 431, 449, 450, II:108, 133, 171.
Wei-144	— T s o I:219.

²⁾ T s o I:77, 224, 267, 299, 482, 502, II:10, 12, 255, 393, III:340, 608, 609, 664. K u o k. 15,5a. C h u a n g k. 9,11a.

(Ts'o II:137) and Ts'i (Yen k. 1,4a) or *Yü-60 fu37* in Ts'i (Yen k. 1,4b). It is difficult to know whether the *Yü-60* in Yi k. 2,4a indicates charioteers or grooms in Royal Chou. These latter terms cannot be identified precisely with any of the Chou Li offices (Offices 258—261) nor with the *Ta-37 yü-187* (Office 256), the highest in rank and the driver of the sacrificial chariot.

Charioteers in the service of dignitaries or noblemen are met with under various terms in the free texts, such as: *P'uk9*, *P'uk9 fu37*, *Yü-60*, *Yü-60 che* and *Yü-187*.¹⁾

262—268. *Hiao-75 jen9* (Office 262) with the rank of *Chung2 ta-37 fu37* are the managers and supervisors of the horses. To the same group of functionaries belong also the equerry, *Ts'ou:156 ma:187* (Office 263); the wizards having the duty of feeding sick horses, *Wu48 ma:187* (Office 264); the functionaries in charge of the pasture-grounds, *Muk93 shi50* (Office 265); and of the twelve corrals for rearing horses, *Sou53 jen9* (Office 266), all of whom are *Hia-1 shi-33*, as well as the master of the grooms, *Yü:31 shi50* (Office 267), and the grooms themselves, *Yü:31 jen9* (Office 268). (Chou II:156—158, 254—263.)

Office 262 is met with as *Hiao-75 jen9* in Lu (Ts'o III: 614—615) and *Hiao-75 cheng-77* in Royal Chou (in the early part of the Chou era), Tsin and Sung (Yi k. 2,4a; Ts'o II:171, 234 respectively), whereas in Ch'u it could be called *Chung2 kiu-53 yin:44* (Ts'o III:431), *Kung40 kiu-53 yin:44* (Ts'o II:315, III:40, 125) as well as *Kien 108 ma:187 yin:44* (Ts'o III:461). The same office is probably also designated *Wu:7 hiao-75 ta-37 fu37* in Chao (Chan k. 33 p. 95) and *Ma:187 shi50* in Cheng (Ts'o II:552). A corresponding charge is also found in private households in Lu, where it is called *Ma:187 cheng-77* (Ts'o II:397, III:562).

The *Ts'ou:156 ma:187* in Shu p. 67, recorded for Royal Chou in the beginning of the Chou era, is explicitly stated to be a *Siao:42 yin:44*, a small functionary, which tallies with the Chou Li (Office 263) being a *Hia-1 shi-33*. But in Shi pp. 139, 226 the *Ts'ou:156 ma:187* at Royal Chou (in the beginning of the Chou dynasty) is shown by the context to be one of the highest dignitaries, indeed, the same as the *Si30 ma:187* (cf. Office 212 above). In Kuo k. 18,10b there is in Ts'i a *Tsou187 ma:187*, a *Ta-37 fu37* according to Wei Chao (Wei-Kuo k. 18,10b), but it is uncertain whether here the *Tsou187 ma:187* is a family name or a title, in the latter case being equal to the *Ts'ou:156 ma:187* in the Shi King, i. e. *Si30 ma:187*. In Ts'o II:171—172, 321 the text records *Sheng-4 ma:187 yü-60* in the Tsin-army, who may possibly be identified with Office 263, the *Ts'ou:156 ma:187*, in the Chou Li.

The grooms (Office 268) are met with in the free texts under various terms,

¹⁾ *P'uk9*: Shi pp. 4,137. Ts'o I:279, 546, II:8,194, 391. Kuo k. 13,4a. Lun p. 266. Meng p. 329. Mo pp. 47:49, 62:5. Yen k. 1,4a; k. 5,2a.

P'uk9 fu37: Shi p. 112.

Yü-60: Shi pp. 124, 228, 257. Ts'o I:111, 267, 565, 634, II:64, 137, 171, 338. Kuo k. 8,6b. Yen k. 5,7a.

Yü-60 che: Meng p. 264.

Yü-187: Chuang k. 9,11a.

such as: *Kiu-53 li-30*, *Yü:31*, *Yü:31 jen9* and *Tsou187*.¹⁾ It is difficult to know whether *Yü-60* in *Y i k. 2.4a* in Royal Chou should be identified with the grooms or the charioteers (cf. Offices 256—261).

269—279. *Chik128 fang70 shi-83* (Office 269) are *Chung2 ta-37 fu37* in charge of the maps of the kingdom as well as its division into various regions. Thus they are in possession of information relative to these regions as to their products and production. Officers subordinate to them are *T'u:32 fang70 shi-83* (Office 270), *Huai:31 fang70 shi-83* (Office 271), *Hop30 fang70 shi-83* (Office 272), *Hün-149 fang70 shi-83* (Office 273) and *Hing:59 fang70 shi-83* (Office 274). All are *Chung2 shi-33* except Office 270, which has the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33*.

T'u:32 fang70 shi-83 (Office 270) are 'land-surveyors,' i. e. they use the T'u-kuei instrument in order to determine the shadows cast by the sun, measure the land, indicate places for settlement etc., thus being able to distinguish the rules for what is fitting or what may be improved as to the land. *Huai:31 fang70 shi-83* (Office 271) are charged to invite people in regions situated far away, to make them deliver their tributes and to take care of their dwellings. *Hop30 fang70 shi-83* (Office 272) keep the roads in the kingdom in order, supervise the circulation of wealth in case of need as well as the uniformity of weights and measures etc. *Hün-149 fang70 shi-83* (Office 273) report political affairs and opinions of high and low in the various regions. *Hing:59 fang70 shi-83* (Office 274) regulate the territories and their frontiers.

Shan46 shi50 (Office 275), *Ch'uan47 shi50* (Office 276), *Yüan:162 shi50* (Office 277) are all *Chung2 shi-33* in charge of the names of mountains, forests, rivers, marshes and land in various parts of the kingdom as well as the production and products in these areas and their distribution.

K'uang22 jen9 (Office 278) and *T'an:64 jen9* (Office 279) are *Chung2 shi-33*. The former propagate laws and rules and rectify the feudal states so that nobody dares to disobey the Royal orders, whereas the latter are heralds proclaiming the Royal decisions and explaining the political affairs. (*Chou* II:158—161, 263—285.)

¹⁾ *Kiu-53 li-30*:

Ts'i — *Kuan k. 16 p. 327*.

Yü:31:

Tso I:405, II:309, III:129.

Tsin — *Tso* II:570, III:607.

Wei-144 — *Tso* II:449, III:313.

Yü:31 jen9:

Lu — *Tso* I:207 (cf. *Kuo k. 18, 10b*). *Li* I:124.

Sung — *Tso* II:460.

Ts'i — *Yen k. 1, 9b*. *Kuan k. 16 p. 327*.

Also engaged in private households in *Lu* (*Tso* III:547, 562) and *Ts'i* (*Tso* II:495, 511).

Tsou187:

Shi p. 14.

Tsin — *Tso* II:171.

Of these functionaries only *Chik128 jang70 shi-83* (Office 269) is met with in *Yi k. 8,6b*, recorded for Royal Chou.

280—281. *Tu163 si30 ma:187*, the masters of the horse in the provincial cities (Office 280), are *Shang-1 shi-33*, whereas the *Kia40 si30 ma:187* (Office 281) have a similar charge in the appanage towns of the dignitaries. (*Chou II:162, 285—286.*) The latter have already been referred to in Office 212 above, note 1 end.

* * *

The general staff of the department of war is headed by the Minister of War, *Ta-37 si30 ma:187* (Office 212), whose assistants are *Siao:42 si30 ma:187*, *Kun159 si30 ma:187*, *Yu:159 si30 ma:187* and *Hang:144 si30 ma:187* (Offices 213—216).

The *Si30 hun19* (Office 217) are the directors of rewards. A special office is assigned to the valuers and purchasers of horses, *Ma:187 chit154* (Office 218), while the *Liang166 jen9* (Office 219) are land-surveyors staking out city-walls, entrenchments, camps, etc. *Yang:123 jen9* (Office 221) are in charge of the sacrificial sheep, and *Siao:42 ts'i* are assistants at sacrifices (Office 220). The *Si30 kuan-86* (Office 222) are the directors of fire and supervise the ordinances regulating the use of fire. The fortifications in the cities and the topography of the country are entrusted to the *Chang:64 ku-31* and *Si30 hien:170* (Offices 223—224) respectively.

Hou-9 jen9 (Office 226) are in charge of the roads in their respective regions, escort visitors and arrange the placing of the sentinels. As public security officers the Chou Li records the *Huan:96 jen9* (Office 227). A peculiar office is held by *K'iet64 hu:31 shi-83* (Office 228), who are in charge of the digging of wells for the army and the placing there of water-clocks.

An important position is held by *She-41 jen9* (Office 229), who direct the ritual archery. A few offices are related to the ritual archery as well as to animals and birds: *Fuk74 put shi-83* (Office 230), trainer of wild animals, who indicates the hits on the target; *She-41 niao:196 shi-83* (Office 231), who shoots birds with bow and arrow and withdraws the arrows from the target; *Lo122 shi-83* (Office 232), who catches noxious birds with bird-net; and *Chang:64 huk102* (Office 233), stock-breeders of birds.

The *Si30 shi-33* (Office 234) supervise the Shī nobles and keep records of them and attend to their promotion and degradation, while *Chu ts'i* (Office 235) supervise the sons of the dignitaries and their education. The soldiers to the right of the chariots are under the command of the *Si30 yu-30* (Office 236). *Hu:141 pen154 shi-83* (Office 237) are the chiefs of the Royal body-guard, whereas *Lu:70 pen154 shi-83* (Office 238) are runners escorting the Royal chariot with lance and shield in their hands.

The robes and caps worn by the King at sacrifices and receptions are in the charge

of the *Tsiet*118 *fuk*74 *shī*-83 (Office 239), and *Pien*-55 *shī*50 (Office 246) take care of the ceremonial caps.

A specific charge is held by the exorcists, *Fang*70 *siang*-109 *shī*-83 (Office 240).

The King's attendants, *Siao*:42 *ch'en*;131, *Tsi*-113 *p'uk*9, *Yü*-60 *p'uk*9 and *Li*-171 *p'uk*9 (Offices 242—245), are headed by the *Ta*-37 *p'uk*9 (Office 241). The arsenals of weapons are entrusted to various functionaries such as *Sī*30 *ping*12, *Sī*30 *ko*62 *tun*-109, *Sī*30 *kung*57 *shī*:111 and *Shan*-120 *jen*9 (Offices 248—251), who are keepers of weapons and shields, dagger-axes and shields, bows, crossbows and arrows and Royal bows, crossbows, arrows and quivers. *K'ao*:75 *jen*9 (Office 252) supervise the makers of arrows, bows and crossbows.

The place to the right in various chariots is held by *Jung*62 *yu*-30, *Chai*210 *yu*-30 and *Tao*-162 *yu*-30 (Offices 253—255), whereas the charioteers of various chariots are designated *Ta*-37 *yü*-187, *Jung*62 *p'uk*9, *Chai*210 *p'uk*9, *Tao*-162 *p'uk*9, *T'ien*;102 *p'uk*9 and *Yü*-187 *fu*37 (Offices 256—261). To the same department as the managers of the horses, *Hiao*-75 *jen*9 (Office 262), belong also the equerry, *T'sou*:156 *ma*:187; the wizards feeding the sick horses, *Wu*48 *ma*:187; the functionaries in charge of the pasture-grounds, *Muk*93 *shī*50; and of the twelve corrals for rearing horses, *Sou*53 *jen*9, as well as the master of the grooms, *Yü*:31 *shī*50, and the grooms themselves, *Yü*:31 *jen*9 (Offices 263—268).

*Chik*128 *fang*70 *shī*-83 (Office 269) are in charge of the maps of the kingdom as well as its division into various regions, thus being in possession of information relative to these regions as to their products and production. Functionaries subordinate to them are *T'u*;32 *fang*70 *shī*-83, *Huai*;31 *fang*70 *shī*-83, *Hop*30 *fang*70 *shī*-83, *Hün*-149 *fang*70 *shī*-83 and *Hing*;59 *fang*70 *shī*-83 (Offices 270—274). In the same group of functionaries we should also include *Shan*46 *shī*50, *Ch'uan*47 *shī*50, *Yüan*;162 *shī*50 (Offices 275—277), who are in charge of the names of mountains, forests, rivers, marshes and land in various parts of the kingdom as well as the production and products in these areas and their distribution.

*K'uang*22 *jen*9 (Office 278) promulgate laws and rules and rectify the feudal states, whereas *T'an*:64 *jen*9 (Office 279) are heralds proclaiming the Royal decisions and explaining political affairs.

*Tu*163 *sī*30 *ma*:187 are masters of the horse in the provincial cities (Office 280) and *Kia*40 *sī*30 *ma*:187 have a similar charge in the appanage towns of the dignitaries (Office 281).

* * *

V. THE DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

282—288. The Minister of Justice, *Ta*-37 *sī*30 *k'ou*-40 or *Sī*30 *k'ou*-40 (Office 282), holds the rank of *K'ing*26, whereas the vice-ministers of justice, *Siao*:42 *sī*30 *k'ou*-40 (Office 283), are *Chung*2 *ta*-37 *fu*37. The chief criminal judges, *Shī*-33 *shī*50 (Office 284), hold the rank of *Hia*-1 *ta*-37 *fu*37. The judicial affairs of the Hiang, Suei, Hien units as well as of the provincial cities and the appanage towns of the digni-

taries are entrusted to the *Hiang163 shi-33* (Office 285), *Suei-162 shi-33* (Office 286), *Hien-120 shi-33* (Office 287) and *Fang70 shi-33* (Office 288) respectively. The three latter have the rank of *Chung2 shi-33*, whereas the *Hiang163 shi-33* is *Shang-1 shi-33*. (Chou II:287—289, 307—345.)

In the free texts the Minister of Justice is likewise met with as *Ta-37 si30 k'ou-40* or *Si30 k'ou-40*.¹⁾ The same office is, however, also met with as *Ta-37 cheng-77* in Royal Chou (Yi k. 6,13b), *Ta-37 li:96* (Han 3 p. 46 and cf. Lü p. 275), *Ta-37 si30 li:96* and *Li:96* (Kuan k. 8 pp. 161, 169) in Ts'i as well as *Si30 pai-66* in Ch'en (Lun p. 204) and Ch'u (Tso I:498,587, III:496 and Kuo k. 18,6b).

In Shu p. 7, where *Shi-33* concerns the famous Kao Yao, and Kuan k. 6 p. 118, where *Li:75* does the same, these *Shi-33* and *Li:75* are obviously synonyms for *Ta-37 si30 k'ou-40* (Office 282). Likewise in Yi k. 7,7a *T'ai-85 shi-33* (in Royal Chou) and Yen k. 1,9b (in Ts'i) and probably also the *Ta-37 shi-33* in Tso I:409 (in Wei-144) are synonyms for Office 282. On the other hand, it is difficult to know whether the *Wei-41 shi-83* in Tso II:371, recorded for Royal Chou, is but another designation of the Minister of Justice or not.

The vice-minister of justice (Office 283) is mentioned under various terms in the free texts as *Shao-42 si30 k'ou-40* in Sung (Tso II:118, III:318), *Li:96* in Tsin (Tso III:248 and cf. Kuo k. 15,1a and Kuo k. 14,4b), *Mi57 shi-33* in Royal Chou (Yi k. 7,7a) and *Shao-42 cheng-77* in Cheng (Tso II:375). It is, however, impossible to define the actual task of the *Shao-42 cheng-77* in Lu (Sün k. 20 p. 2).

The chief criminal judges (Office 284) are met with under the same title, *Shi-33 shi50*, in Royal Chou (Yi k. 6,15b); Cheng (Lie p. 35); Lu (Lun pp. 331,345) and Ts'i (Meng pp. 164,218,223 and Yen k. 1,3b—4a).

Since the Chou Li expressly states that the *Hien-120 shi-33* (Office 287) '*chang:64 ye:166*', manages the 'campagnes extérieures', it is clear that the *Ye:166 si30 k'ou-40* in Cheng (Tso III:288) is equal to this *Hien-120 shi-33*. For Offices 285, 286,288 no equivalents in the free texts can be attested.

289. *Ya-149 shi-33* with the rank of *Chung2 shi-33* are law officers in charge of litigation in the kingdom, announce the penalties imposed in the states, investigate

¹⁾ *Ta-37 si30 k'ou-40*:

Sung — Tso II:118, III:347, 762.

Si30 k'ou-40:

Tso I:174 (id. Kuo k. 1,11a). Sün k. 5 p. 23.

Royal Chou — Shu pp. 30, 70. Tso II:90, III:505. Kuo k. 1,8a, 9b; k. 2,10a. Chan k. 2 p. 12. (All instances, except Chan k. 2 p. 12, referring to the early part of the Chou period.)

Cheng — Tso III:49, 287, 288.

Lu — Tso I:550, II:361, III:490 (cf. Meng p. 434; Mo p. 64:54; Sün k. 4 p. 5; k. 20 p. 3; Lü pp. 197, 321 and Li I:167).

Sung — Tso I:478, 502, 537, 558.

Ts'i — Tso II:169.

Tsin — Tso II:196. Kuo k. 12,3b; k. 14,2b; k. 15,1a.

Wei-144 — Tso III:308, 470—471, 754—755.

matters that ought to be regulated by the chief criminal judge (Office 284), as well as cases of disorder and imprisonment. Whenever a visitor arrives, they meet and escort him in order to prevent anybody or anything from disturbing him. (C h o u II:289, 345—347.)

290. *Ch'ao*;74 *shī*-33 are *Chung*2 *shī*-33 and law officers in charge of the rules relative to the Royal law court, where they see to it, that proper order and conduct are observed. Furthermore, they receive reports of waifs. (C h o u II:289, 347—352.) It is probable that the *T'ing*;54 *li*:96 in H a n 3 p. 62, recorded for Ch'u, may be identified with this office.

291. *Sī*30 *min*83 with the rank of *Chung*2 *shī*-33 are in charge of birth and mortality registration (C h o u II:290, 353—354) and are met with under the same title in K u o k. 1,9b, recorded for Royal Chou in the early part of the Chou era.

292. *Sī*30 *hing*;18 are *Chung*2 *shī*-33 in charge of the criminal code. (C h o u II:290, 354—355.)

293. *Sī*30 *ts'ī*-18 are *Hia*-1 *shī*-33 in charge of the rules regulating executions. (C h o u II:291, 355—357.)

294—295. *Sī*30 *yüek*120 (Office 294) and *Sī*30 *meng*108 (Office 295) are *Hia*-1 *shī*-33 supervising the fulfilment of agreements and covenant srespectively. (C h o u II:291, 357—361.) In T s o I:254, 376 (recorded for early Royal Chou) and T s o II:276—277 (recorded for Tsin) the text records that deeds of covenant are kept in *Meng*108 *fu*:53, 'the repository for covenants'. This obviously refers to the office of the *Sī*30 *meng*108 (Office 295) in the Chou Li.

296. *Chik*128 *kin*167 are *Shang*-1 *shī*-33 in charge of the regulations concerning gold, jade, tin, stones as well as red or blue objects. Thus they receive taxes in the material just mentioned as well as fines. (C h o u II:292, 361—363.)

297. *Sī*30 *li*-27 with the rank of *Hia*-1 *shī*-33 take care of stolen property and tools employed by thieves and supervise male and female thieves condemned to slavery. (C h o u II:292, 363—364.)

298. *K'uan*:94 *jen*9 are *Hia*-1 *shī*-33 in charge of the sacrificial dogs. (C h o u II:292, 364—365.)

299—301. A group by themselves are the governors of the prisons, *Sī*30 *yüan*;31 (Office 299), with the rank of *Chung*2 *shī*-33; the gaolers, *Chang*:64 *ts'iu*;31 (Office 300), and the executioners, *Chang*:64 *luk*62 (Office 301). The two latter are *Hia*-1 *shī*-33 (C h o u II:293, 365—370.) Probably the *Yük*94 *li*-30 in H a n 3 p. 38, recorded for Wei-144, may be identified with the executioners (Office 301) in the Chou Li.

302—307. *Sĩ30 li-171* (Office 302) are *Chung2 shĩ-33* supervising criminals condemned to forced labour, i. e. *Tsuei-122 li-171* (Office 303), *Man142 li-171* (Office 304), *Min-168 li-171* (Office 305), *Yi-37 li-171* (Office 306) and *Mok153 li-171* (Office 307). (C h o u II:294—295, 370—374.)

308. The law heralds, *Pu-50 hien-61*, hold the rank of *Chung2 shĩ-33*. (C h o u II:295, 374.)

309. *Kin-113 sha79 luk62* are *Hia-1 shĩ-33* in charge of those involved in cases of murder, assault and battery. (C h o u II:295, 374—375.)

310. *Kin-113 pao-72 shĩ-83* are *Hia-1 shĩ-33* charged with the prevention of violence among the people. (C h o u II:296, 375.)

311. *Ye-166 lu53 shĩ-83* are *Hia-1 shĩ-33* maintaining order on and along the roads in the Royal domain. (C h o u II:296, 376—377.)

312. *Ts'ũ-142 shĩ-83* with the rank of *Hia-1 shĩ-33* remove decayed meat and keep away objects as well as people that are impure for some reason or other, from great sacrifices, the arrival of important visitors etc. (C h o u II:296, 378—379.)

313. *Yung172 shĩ-83* are *Hia-1 shĩ-33*, who supervise the drainage. (C h o u II:297, 379.)

314. *P'ing-140 shĩ-83* hold the rank of *Hia-1 shĩ-33*. They are in charge of prohibitions relative to rivers, marshes, lakes etc. in the kingdom, examine the quality of the wine as well as its consumption, and prevent inundations. (C h o u II:297, 380.)

315. *Sĩ30 wu-40 shĩ-83* are *Hia-1 shĩ-33* acting as night watchmen. (C h o u II:297, 380.)

316. *Sĩ30 huei186 shĩ-83* hold the rank of *Hia-1 shĩ-33*. With the aid of various mirrors they get fire from the sun and water from the moon in order to furnish sacrificial grain and torches for the sacrifices, and water. They furthermore proclaim the prohibitions relative to fire. (C h o u II:297, 381—382.)

317. *T'iao-75 lang94 shĩ-83* are *Hia-1 shĩ-33* acting as forerunners of the King and the feudal princes. (C h o u II:298, 382—384.)

318. *Siu130 lu169 shĩ-83* hold the rank of *Hia-1 shĩ-33* and are in charge of the keeping of order in the capital. (C h o u II:298, 384—385.)

319—330. These offices form a group by themselves. Of these we have those concerned with hunting fierce animals, *Ming14 shĩ-83* (Office 319); poisonous animals,

Chu-53 shi-83 (Office 320); hibernating animals, *Huet-116 shi-83* (Office 321); and fierce birds, *Ch'i-124 shi-83* (Office 322); while others lop the forest trees, *Tsok-75 shi-83* (Office 323); clear away weeds, *T'i-140 shi-83* (Office 324); knock down the nests of inauspicious birds, *Ch'et-112 ts'uk-140 shi-83* (Office 325); expel grubs in the wood, *Tsien-124 shi-83* (Office 326), insects in the house-walls, *Ts'ik-155 pot-29 shi-83* (Office 327), frogs and toads, *Kuok-142 shi-83* (Office 328), as well as water-insects, *Hu-33 chok-85 shi-83* (Office 329); or shoot inauspicious birds with bow and arrow, *T'ing-53 shi-83* (Office 330). They are all *Hia-1 shi-33*. (C h o u II:298—300, 385—392.)

331. *Hien-167 mei-75 shi-83* hold the rank of *Hia-1 shi-33* and prevent clamour, i. e. they see to it that no clamour disturbs the great state sacrifices, and that the soldiers should be gagged when taking part in military reunions and hunting-parties. They also prevent all kinds of clamour in the capital. (C h o u II:301, 393—394.)

332. *Yi-9 k'i-125 shi-83* holds the rank of *Hia-1 shi-33* and furnishes staffs and ropes for the great sacrifices and staffs for functionaries in the army and those given by the King to the aged. (C h o u II:301, 394.)

333—341. The bureau of foreign affairs is directed by *Ta-37 hing-144 jen-9* (Office 333), who have the rank of *Chung-2 ta-37 fu-37*. Their chief assistants, *Siao-42 hing-144 jen-9* (Office 334) are *Hia-1 ta-37 fu-37*. To the same bureau belong also the masters of ceremonies, *Si-30 yi-9* (Office 335); messengers, *Hing-144 fu-37* (Office 336); functionaries receiving and escorting visitors, *Huan-96 jen-9* (Office 337); interpreters, *Siang-152 su-130* (Office 338); officers in charge of providing food for visitors, *Chang-64 k'ok-40* (Office 339); keepers of the records of ranks, *Chang-64 ya-149* (Office 340); as well as political commissaries supervising the intercourse between the feudal states, *Chang-64 kiao-8* (Office 341). Offices 335, 338, 339 are *Shang-1 shi-33*, Offices 337, 340, 341 *Chung-2 shi-33* and Office 336 is *Hia-1 shi-33*. (C h o u II:301—304, 395—453.)

From the Chou Li text it follows that the chief of the bureau of foreign affairs, the *Ta-37 hing-144 jen-9* (Office 333), has his duties at home, as the principal receiver of princely visitors and envoys from other feudal states. The 'vice', *Siao-42 hing-144 jen-9* (Office 334), goes to the frontier to meet such prominent guests and bid them welcome, and he goes as envoy to other states.

In the free texts there is the term *Hing-144 jen-9*¹⁾ as well as *Ta-37 hing-144 jen-9*

¹⁾ *Hing-144 jen-9*:

	T s o II:99 (cf. K u o k. 2,13a). M o p. 13:20. K u a n k. 9 pp. 181, 249.
Royal Chou	— T s o II:370. H a n 3 p. 66. K u a n k. 14 p. 288.
Chao	— C h a n k. 21 p. 85.
Ch'en	— C h ' u n III:156 (id. T s o III:156). L i I:218.
Cheng	— C h ' u n II:277 (cf. T s o II:277—278, 289). T s o II:418, 521, 575, III:2, 7, 35, 288. L u n p. 278.
Ch'u	— T s o II:139.
Lu	— C h ' u n III:355 (cf. T s o III:356). T s o I:464.

in *Yi k. 7,6b*, recorded for Royal Chou. Sometimes the context shows that the *Hing;144 jen9* corresponds to *Ta-37 hing;144 jen9* of the Chou Li, e. g. *Tso I:464*, II:231; sometimes, and much more often, it corresponds to *Siao:42 hing;144 jen9*, since it is a question of going to the frontier to welcome foreign guests or of going to other states as envoy, e. g. *Tso II:64*.

In late free texts *Hing;144 jen9* may also be called *Ta-37 hing;144* (*Han 3 p. 46*; cf. *Kuan k. 8 p. 169* and *Lü p. 274*) or simply *Hing;144* (*Kuan k. 8 p. 161*) in Ts'i. The latter term also occurs in Ts'in (*Han 2 p. 44*).

The *Hing;144 li:96* in Royal Chou and *Hing;144 li:75* in Cheng are clearly the *Siao:42 hing;144 jen9*, since they are guest masters (*Kuo k. 2,10a*) or envoys (*Tso I:417*, II:231). A similar charge is represented by the guest master, *Si30 cheng-77*, in Tsin (*Kuo k. 7, 2a*).

The interpreters (Officers 338) are called *Shet135 jen9* in *Kuo k. 2,7a*.

342—343. *Chang:64 ch'at40 si-31 fang70* and *Chang:64 huo-154 hwei-154* are *Chung2 shi-33* and *Hia-1 shi-33* respectively. The Chou Li text regarding these charges has been lost. (*Chou II:305, 454*.)

344. For each state there are assigned two Royal commissaries, *Ch'ao;74 ta-37 fu37*, with the rank of *Shang-1 shi-33*, who supervise the administration of the provincial cities and the appanage towns of the dignitaries. (*Chou II:305, 454—455*.)

345—347. *Tu163 tsek18*, *Tu163 shi-33* and *Kia40 shi-33* are *Chung2 shi-33*. The Chou Li text regarding these charges has been lost. (*Chou II:306—307, 455*.)

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The chief of the staff in the department of justice, *Ta-37 si30 k'ou-40* (Office 282) has as his assistants, *Siao:42 si30 k'ou-40*, *Shi-33 shi50* and *Hiang163 shi-33* (Offices 283—285).

Shi-33 shi50 are the chief criminal judges. For the Hiang, Sui and Hien units as well as for the provincial cities and the appanage towns of the dignitaries there are special law officers in charge of their judicial affairs, i. e. *Hiang163 shi-33*, *Sui-162 shi-33*, *Hien-120 shi-33* and *Fang70 shi-33* (Offices 285—288). Besides these there are law officers in charge of litigation, who proclaim the punishments imposed in the

Pa	— <i>Tso I:99</i> .
Sung	— <i>Ch'un III:531</i> .
Ts'i	— <i>Chan k. 15 p. 27</i> .
Tsin	— <i>Tso I:625</i> , II:64, 139, 199 (cf. <i>Kuo k. 5,1a</i>), 231, 444 (id. <i>Kuo k. 14,6b</i>), III:120. <i>Han 3 pp. 93,94</i> (cf. <i>Lü p. 404</i>). <i>Chu 18b</i> .
Ts'in	— <i>Tso I:509</i> .
Wei-144	— <i>Ch'un II:332</i> (cf. <i>Tso II:332</i>), III:534. <i>Tso I:464</i> , III:679.
Wu	— <i>Tso II:64</i> (cf. <i>Tso II:468</i> ; <i>Kuo k. 17,5a</i>), III:508, 679. <i>Kuo k. 19,4a</i> . <i>Yen k. 6,2b</i> .

states, investigate matters that ought to be regulated by the chief criminal judge, as well as cases of disorder and imprisonment etc., *Ya-149 shi-33* (Office 289), or ensure the observance of the rules relative to the Royal law court, where they see to it that proper order and conduct are observed, *Ch'ao;74 shi-33* (Office 290). The *Si30 min83* (Office 291) are in charge of birth and mortality registration.

The criminal code is entrusted to *Si30 hing;18* (Office 292), whereas *Si30 ts'i-18* (Office 293) supervise the rules regulating executions. The fulfilment of agreements and covenants is supervised by the *Si30 yüek120* and *Si30 meng108* (Offices 294—295) respectively. The regulations concerning gold, jade, tin, stones and red or blue objects are assigned to the *Chik128 kin167* (Office 296).

Stolen property and tools employed by thieves are taken care of by the *Si30 li-27* (Office 297), who also supervise male and female thieves condemned to slavery.

A special office is held by *K'üan;94 jen9* (Office 298), who are in charge of the sacrificial dogs.

The prisons are headed by governors, *Si30 yüan;31* (Office 299). Here, too, are the gaolers, *Chang;64 ts'iu;31*, and the executioners, *Chang;64 luk62* (Offices 300—301). *Si30 li-171* (Office 302) supervise criminals condemned to forced labour, i. e. *Tsuei-122 li-171*, *Man142 li-171*, *Min;168 li-171*, *Yi;37 li-171* and *Mok153 li-171* (Offices 303—307).

Pu-50 hien-61 (Office 308) are law heralds. *Kin-113 sha79 luk62* (Office 309) are in charge of those involved in cases of murder, assault and battery, whereas *Kin-113 pao-72 shi-83* (Office 310) are charged with the prevention of violence among the people. Order on and along the roads in the Royal domain is maintained by *Ye;166 lu53 shi-83* (Office 311).

Ts'u-142 shi-83 (Office 312) remove decayed meat and keep away impure objects and persons whenever there are great sacrifices, arrivals of important visitors etc. The drainage is supervised by *Yung172 shi-83* (Office 313), while *P'ing;140 shi-83* (Office 314) are in charge of prohibitions relative to rivers, marshes, lakes etc., examine the quality of the wine as well as its consumption, and prevent inundations.

Si30 wu-40 shi-83 (Office 315) are night watchmen. A peculiar charge is held by *Si30 hui186 shi-83* (Office 316), who, with the aid of various mirrors, get fire from the sun and water from the moon in order to furnish grain and torches for the sacrifices, and water. *T'iao;75 lang94 shi-83* (Office 317) are forerunners of the King and the feudal princes. *Siu130 lu169 shi-83* (Office 318) maintain order in the capital, and the *Hien;167 mei;75 shi-83* (Office 331) prevent clamour, i. e. they see to it that no clamour disturbs the great state sacrifices, and that the soldiers are gagged when taking part in military reunions and hunting-parties. They also prevent all kinds of clamour in the capital. *Yi9 k'i;125 shi-83* (Office 332) furnishes staffs and ropes for the great sacrifices and staffs for functionaries in the army and those given by the King to the aged.

A specific group is formed by the functionaries who hunt fierce animals, *Ming14 shi-83*; poison animals, *Chu-53 shi-83*; hibernating animals, *Huet116 shi-83*; and fierce birds, *Ch'i-124 shi-83*; lop the forest trees, *Tsok75 shi-83*; clear away weeds, *T'i-140 shi-83*; knock down nests of inauspicious birds, *Ch'et112 ts'uk140 shi-83*;

expel grubs in the wood, *Tsien*:124 *shī*-83, insects in the house-walls, *Ts'ik* 155 *pot*29 *shī*-83, frogs and toads, *Kuok*142 *shī*-83, as well as water-insects, *Hu*:33 *chok*85 *shī*-83; or shoot inauspicious birds with bow and arrow, *T'ing*:53 *shī*-83 (Offices 319—330).

The bureau of foreign affairs is headed by *Ta*-37 *hing*;144 *jen*9 (Office 333), whose 'vice' are *Siao*:42 *hing*;144 *jen*9 (Office 334). To the same bureau belong the masters of ceremonies, *Si*30 *yi*;9; messengers, *Hing*;144 *fu*37; functionaries receiving and escorting visitors, *Huan*;96 *jen*9; interpreters, *Siang*-152 *sul*30; officers in charge of providing food for visitors, *Chang*:64 *k'ok*40; keepers of the records of ranks, *Chang*: 64 *ya*-149; as well as political commissaries supervising the intercourse between the feudal states, *Chang*:64 *kiao*8 (Offices 335—341).

For each state there are two Royal commissaries, *Ch'ao*;74 *ta*-37 *fu*37, supervising the administration of the provincial cities and the appanage towns of the dignitaries (Office 344).

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VI. DEPARTMENT OF WORKS

The last section of the Chou Li should deal with the department of works but it has been replaced by the document called the K'ao Kung Ki. A few functionaries belonging to this department are, however, met with in the free texts.

Already in the records concerning high antiquity we meet with the charge of the director of works, designated *Kung*12 *kung*48 (Shu p. 7) or *Si*30 *k'ung*116 (Kuan k. 6 p. 118). In early Royal Chou the master or director of works is met with as *Hung*;40 *fu*-88 (Shu p. 46) as well as *Si*30 *k'ung*116 (Shu pp. 29, 30, 46, 68; Shī p. 190; Tso III:505 and Kuo k. 2,10a). During the middle and late feudal Chou periods the Minister of Works in the feudal states is designated *Ta*-37 *si*30 *k'ung*116, *Si*30 *k'ung*116, *Si*30 *ch'eng*;32 or *Kung*48 *yin*:44.¹⁾ In the

¹⁾ *Ta*-37 *si*30 *k'ung*116:

Tsin — Tso I:189.

*Si*30 *k'ung*116:

Sün k. 5 p. 21.

Ch'en — Tso II:431. *Kuo* k. 2,8b.

Cheng — Tso II:259.

Han — Lü pp. 374—375.

Lu — Tso I:14, III:95.

Sung — Chan k. 1 p. 4.

Ts'i — Yen k. 6,2a.

Tsin — Tso I:341—342, 453, II:366, 570. *Kuo* k. 10,7b, 10a; k. 14,5a.

Ts'in — Chan k. 7 p. 64. *Shang Kün* p. 301.

Wei:144 — Han 4 p. 13 (name?).

*Si*30 *ch'eng*;32:

Sung — Ch'un I:491 (cf. Tso I:491) and passim; cf. Index. Meng p. 366. Han 3 p. 68. Lü p. 356. Li I:255.

Ts'ao — Tso III:647.

state of Tsin the (*Ta*-37) *si30 k'ung116* probably indicates both the Minister of Works (cf. note 1 above) and the master of works in the army (Tso II:21, 344), a charge which in the central legion is called *Si30 k'ung116* or *Yüan;10 si30 k'ung116* (Tso II:170—171 and Kuo k. 13,2b respectively). In Sung the title of *Si30 k'ung116* was suppressed (Tso I:93—94) and they used instead that of *Si30 ch'eng;32* to indicate the Minister of Works (cf. note 1 above).

The chief of the carpenters, *Tsiang-22 shi50*, is recorded for Lu in Kuo k. 4,2a. The *Kung48 cheng-77* and *Kung48 shi50* refer to masters of the artisans,¹⁾ though it is impossible to define more precisely their actual tasks. In Tso I:585 the *Kung48 cheng-77* in Ch'u, mentioned above, is recorded after the *Ling-9 yin:44*, the Premier, and the *Si30 ma:187*, the Minister of War. It would then seem natural that the *Kung48 cheng-77* should correspond to the Minister of Works, but that is refuted by Tso III:94—95, which makes a clear distinction between the *Kung48 cheng-77* and the *Si30 k'ung116*, i. e. the Minister of Works, in Lu, as well as by the fact that the Minister of Works of Ch'u is always designated *Kung48 yin:44* (cf. note 1 above).

In Mo pp. 109:54, 110:72 and 115:34 the *Ts'i-76 si30 k'ung116* and *Tu163 si30 k'ung116* probably indicate the master of works in a provincial city or an appanage town, a charge which may be identical with that of the *Kung48 shi50* in Lu (Tso III:563).

THE ORDER OF PRECEDENCE

The order of precedence in the Chou Li contains the following ranks: *San1 kung12*, *Ku39*, *K'ing26*, *Chung2 ta-37 fu37*, *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*, *Shang-1 shi-33*, *Chung2 shi-33* and *Hia-1 shi-33* (Chou I:3—4, 58, 63, 117, 433, II:2,4, 9, 202, 214, 228, 338, 340, 347—348, 439). A similar division of the ranks is also met with in the free texts, though a few divergences occur.

In the free texts the rank of *San1 kung12* is exclusively recorded for Royal Chou and there represents the highest rank.²⁾ Unfortunately the free texts do not indicate

Kung48 yin:44:

Kuan k. 9 p. 188.

Ch'u — Tso I:498, 631, II:135, III:207, 294, 422, 740. Li I:234.

¹⁾ *Kung48 cheng-77*:

Ch'u — Tso I:585.

Lu — Tso III:95.

Sung — Tso II:234.

Ts'i — Tso I:178.

Kung48 shi50:

Sün k. 5 p. 22.

Royal Chou — Chan k. 1 p. 3.

Ts'i — Meng pp. 167—168.

²⁾ Kuo k. 5,8b. Sün k. 8 pp. 9—10. Yi k. 3,1b. — In Lü p. 362, it occurs in a tale about high antiquity.

the charge(s) that might be connected with this rank, but it is probable that it merely represented a high honorary degree, which was not attached to any special office but was ambulatory and conferred upon worthy members at the Royal Chou court. The *Ku39* is nowhere found in the free texts and represents in all probability the 'vice' of the *San1 kung12*. See, for instance *Chou* II:202.

Next in rank to *San1 kung12* (and *Ku39*) are the *K'ing26*, *Chung2 ta-37 fu37* and *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*. From the *Chou Li* it is evident that they are sub-degrees of the *Ta-37 fu37*. The *K'ing26* then indicates the highest degree of the *Ta-37 fu37* dignitaries as well as their position in the cabinet.

In the free texts *K'ing26* comes also next in rank to the *San1 kung12* (cf. note 2 above) and is represented in various feudal states as: Royal Chou, Chao, Ch'en, Cheng, Ch'u, Ki, Lu, Sung, Ts'ao, Ts'i, Tsin, Wei-144, Wu and Yen.¹⁾ Though a subdivision of the *K'ing26* is not made in the *Chou Li*, there exists in the free texts a certain graduation based on the relationship and functions of these dignitaries.

In *Meng* pp. 392—393 a general distinction is made between dignitaries holding the rank of *K'ing26*, who are noble and related to the Ruler's clan, *Kuei-154 ts'ik62 ch'i k'ing26*, and those who have a different surname, *Yi-102 sing-38 ch'i k'ing26*. The former may be identified with the *Tsung40 k'ing26* in Wei-144 and Lu (*Tso* II:111, 531 respectively) and the latter with the *K'ok40 k'ing26* in Ts'in (*Chan* k. 3 p. 18; k. 5 p. 37; k. 28 p. 52 and *Shang Kün* p. 299).

Undoubtedly due to their different functions the *K'ing26* dignitaries are referred to some higher degree such as *Cheng-77 k'ing26*, *Chung:14 k'ing26*, *K'ing26 shi-33*, *K'ing26 siang-109*, *Shang-1 k'ing26*, or to a lower one such as *Hia-1 k'ing26*, *Kie-9 k'ing26*, *Ts'i-76 k'ing26*, *Ya-7 k'ing26*.²⁾ The former may obtain their commission

¹⁾ For the sake of simplicity and to avoid long lists of references I use in this chapter as few references as possible. — *Tso* I:15, 42, 106, 177, 212—213, 415, 462, 522, 599, II:78, 147, III:423. *Chan* k. 21 p. 85; k. 30 p. 69.

²⁾ *Cheng-77 k'ing26*:

Cheng	—	<i>Tso</i> II:226.
Lu	—	<i>Tso</i> II:361.
Ts'i	—	<i>Tso</i> I:179.
Tsin	—	<i>Tso</i> I:487, 572, III:19. <i>Kuo</i> k. 14,4b; k. 15,4a.
Ts'in	—	<i>Shang Kün</i> p. 299.

Chung:14 k'ing26:

Lu	—	<i>Tso</i> III:94.
Wei-144	—	<i>Tso</i> II:303.

K'ing26 shi-33:

Tso III:489. — In *Chu* 4a recorded for the Yin dynasty.

Royal Chou	—	<i>Shu</i> pp. 29, 33, 71. <i>Shi</i> pp. 139, 205, 234. <i>Tso</i> I:17, 45, 254, II:266—267, 438, III:505. <i>Kuo</i> k. 1,6a; k. 16,5a.
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Ch'u	—	<i>Tso</i> III:723. <i>Kuo</i> k. 2,13b.
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The rank of *K'ing26 shi-33* in the Royal Chou is held by feudal princes from Cheng (*Tso* I:17, II:438), *Kuo* (*Tso* I:45, 254; *Kuo* k. 16,5a), Lao (*Kuo* k. 1,6a) and Shan (*Tso* II:266—267). The *Tso:48 k'ing26 shi-33* is referred to the prince of Cheng (*Tso* I:49).

K'ing26 siang-109:

Ts'i	—	<i>Meng</i> p. 185.
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from the King of Chou (Kuo k. 7,1a; recorded for Tsin) and be recorded as *Ming-30 k'ing26* (Tso II:34, recorded for Tsin).

In Tso II:41 we meet with a systematic survey of the relations between *Shang-1 k'ing26*, *Chung2 k'ing26* and *Hia-1 k'ing26* in states of the first, second and third order. A similar division of the *K'ing26* dignitaries is found in Sün k. 19 pp. 7—8, referred to Royal Chou. In another text, i. e. in Yen k. 7,10b, we also meet with a dignitary holding the rank of *Chung2 k'ing26*, recorded for Ts'i.

In the free texts the *K'ing26* also represents the highest degree of the *Ta-37 fu37* dignitaries (cf. *Ling-9 yin:44* in Tso III:2—3). These *Ta-37 fu37*¹⁾ are divided, according to their functions, into three groups: 1. *Shang-1 ta-37 fu37*. 2. *Chung2 ta-37 fu37*. 3. *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*, *Pi-38 ta-37 fu37* or *Ya-7 ta-37 fu37*.²⁾

Shang-1 k'ing26:

Royal Chou	— Tso I:285. Sün k. 19 p. 7.
Cheng	— Tso II:523, 525.
Ch'u	— Tso III:123.
Lu	— Tso I:101, III:134, 481. Kuo k. 4,12a; k. 5,6a. Lie p. 40.
Sung	— Tso III:765.
Ts'i	— Kuo k. 6,6b. Chan k. 4 p. 33.
Tsin	— Tso III:105—106. Kuo k. 1,15a; k. 7,1a. Lü p. 148.
Ts'in	— Chan k. 4 p. 33; k. 7 p. 65.
Wei-144	— Tso II:41.
Wei-194	— Lü p. 216.
Yen	— Chan k. 29 p. 64.

Hia-1 k'ing26:

Royal Chou	— Sün k. 19 p. 8.
Tsin	— Tso III:457, 608.

Kie-9 k'ing26:

Lu	— Tso III:94.
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Ts'i-76 k'ing26:

Ts'i	— Tso III:703.
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Ya-7 k'ing26:

Lu	— Tso III:102.
Ts'in	— Tso I:474.
Yen	— Chan k. 30 p. 73.

¹⁾ Recorded for Royal Chou, Chao, Ch'en, Cheng, Chu, Ch'u, Chung Shan, Han, Hü, Kia, Kuo, Lu, Siao Chu, Sie, Sung, T'eng, Ts'ai, Ts'ao, Tseng, Ts'i, Tsin, Ts'in, Wei-144, Wei-194, Wu, Yen, Yü and Yüe: Ch'un I:67, 145, 186, 190, 261, 278, 414, 497, 599, II:356; Tso I:57, 101, 173, 257, 301, II:211, 226, 557, III:69, 211, 443; Kuo k. 19,5b; Chan k. 22 p. 92; k. 27 p. 42; k. 33 p. 94; Lun p. 279; Han I p. 45.

²⁾ *Shang-1 ta-37 fu37:*

Cheng	— Tso I:160, III:23.
Lu	— Kuo k. 4,12b.
Ts'i	— Tso III:50.
Tsin	— Tso III:105—106, 607. Kuo k. 14,11a. Han 3 pp. 46—47.

Chung2 ta-37 fu37:

Ts'i	— Kuan k. 22 p. 456; k. 24 p. 527.
Tsin	— Kuo k. 8,10b. Han 3 pp. 46—47. Lü p. 278.

Hia-1 ta-37 fu37:

Tsin	— Tso III:607. Han 3 pp. 46—47.
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It is probable that the *Yu-30 ta-37 fu37* in Ts'in (T s o II:31, 273) and *Chang:168 ta-37 fu37* in Wei-194 (L ü p. 446) are merely other denominations of the *Shang-1 ta-37 fu37*.

It is only in H a n 3 pp. 46—47, that there are said to exist in Tsin the degrees of *Shang-1 ta-37 fu37*, *Chung2 ta-37 fu37* and *Hia-1 ta-37 fu37*. The degree of *Chung2 ta-37 fu37* is also recorded for Ts'i, but then in the late free text Kuan Tsī as mentioned above.

The exact relationship between the various designations of *Ta-37 fu37* and *K'ing26* is difficult to define more precisely. It is, however, clear that a *Shang-1 k'ing26* is not identifiable with a *Shang-1 ta-37 fu37* (T s o III:105—106), but it is impossible to say whether the latter corresponds to some other degree of the *K'ing26* or not.

The lowest rank in the Royal Chou hierarchy is held by the *Shī-33* (cf. T s o I:10, 34, 75). The Chou Li distinguishes between *Shang-1 shī-33*, *Chung2 shī-33* and *Hia-1 shī-33*, a distinction which is only met with in the systematic survey in M e n g pp. 373—374, where the *Shang-1 shī-33* is likewise called *Yüan;10 shī-33*. The latter term also occurs in S ü n k. 12 p. 16.

In the middle and late feudal Chou periods there existed, besides the Royal Chou hierarchy system, also that of Ts'in. This system is discussed in S h a n g K ü n pp. 297—298 and a corresponding survey is found as well in Chavannes, *Mémoires Historiques* II:527—530, which is based on chapter 19a in the Ts'ien Han Shu and chapters 34—38 in the Hou Han Shu. There are, according to Chavannes' sources, 18 degrees of rank, but only four of them occur sporadically in the free texts, the instances being too sparse to allow of any systematization. They are:

Shu-53 chang:168
Wu:7 ta-37 fu37
Kung12 ta-37 fu37
Kuan40 ta-37 fu37.

Shu-53 chang:168, the highest of the four, was a really prominent rank, as is shown by a tale in T s o II:278.¹⁾

Pi-38 ta-37 fu37:

Cheng — T s o III:23, 626.

Tsin — T s o III:144.

Wu — K u o k. 19,7a.

Ya-7 ta-37 fu37:

Cheng — T s o III:143—144.

¹⁾ *Shu-53 chang:168:*

Ts'in — T s o II:278.

Wu:7 ta-37 fu37:

Chao — L ü p. 392.

Ch'u — L ü p. 140.

Wei-194 — C h a n k. 25 p. 25.

Kung12 ta-37 fu37:

H a n 2 pp. 76, 89.

Kuan40 ta-37 fu37:

K u a n k. 9 p. 187.

Ts'in — L ü pp. 425—426.

ON THE NATURE OF THE CHOU LI

In the preceding pages we have dealt extensively with the Chou Li offices and their counterparts in the free texts. A survey of the results might be given as follows:¹⁾

Office	Noblemen	Rank	Assistants	Free texts
1. Ta-37 tsai:40	1	1	150	A.B.
2. Siao:42 tsai:40	2	2		B.
3. Tsai:40 fu37	4+56	3—6		A.B.
4. Kung40 cheng-77	2+12	4—6	50	C.
5. Kung40 pok9	2+4	5—6	25	C.
6. Shan-130 fu37	2+12	4—6	138	A.B.
7. P'ao,53 jen9	4+8	5—6	58	A.B.
8. Nei-11 yung184	4+8	5—6	116	B.
9. Wai-36 yung184	4+8	5—6	116	C.
10. P'eng8 jen9	4	6	58	B.
11. Tien-102 shi50	2	6	333	B.
12. Shou-94 jen9	4+8	5—6	50	A.B.
13. Yü,194 jen9	2+4	5—6	336	B.
14. Piet205 jen9	4	6	20	B.
15. Sik130 jen9	4	6	24	C.
16. Yi164 shi50	2+4	4, 6	24	B.
17. Si-184 yi164	2	5	—	C.
18. Tsi104 yi164	8	5	—	C.
19. Yang,104 yi164	8	6	—	B.
20. Shou-94 yi164	4	6	—	B.
21. Tsiu:164 cheng-77	4+8	5—6	98	C.
22. Tsiu:164 jen9	(10)	(eunuchs)	330	C.
23. Tsiang85 jen9	(5)	(eunuchs)	165	C.
24. Ling15 jen9	2	6	92	B.
25. Pien118 jen9	(1)	(eunuch)	30	C.
26. Hai:164 jen9	(1)	(eunuch)	60	C.
27. Hi164 jen9	(2)	(eunuchs)	60	C.
28. Yen,197 jen9	(2)	(eunuchs)	60	C.
29. Mik14 jen9	(1)	(eunuch)	30	C.
30. Kung40 jen9	4+8	5—6	94	B.

¹⁾ In this survey we shall indicate the number of the Chou Li office; the number of noblemen engaged in the office; the rank(s) of the noblemen, i. e. the rank will be indicated by the following numerals:

1. K'ing26
2. Chung2 ta-37 fu37
3. Hia-1 ta-37 fu37
4. Shang-1 shi-33
5. Chung2 shi-33
6. Hia-1 shi-33;

the number of assistants, and, finally, the occurrence of the office in question in the free texts, indicated in the following way:

- A. Identical title and charge.
- B. Corresponding title and charge.
- C. No counterparts in the free texts.

Office	Noblemen	Rank	Assistants	Free texts
31. <i>Chang:64 she:135</i>	4	6	46	C.
32. <i>Mok50 jen9</i>	1	6	44	C.
33. <i>Chang:64 ts'i-76</i>	4	6	86	C.
34. Ta-37 fu:53	2+12	3, 4, 6	116	B.
35. <i>Yük96 fu:53</i>	2+4	4—5	72	C.
36. <i>Nei-11 fu:53</i>	2	5	13	C.
37. <i>Wai-36 fu:53</i>	2	5	13	C.
38. Sĩ-30 kuei-73	2+28	2—5	67	C.
39. <i>Sĩ30 shu73</i>	2+4	4—5	14	C.
40. <i>Chik128 na-11</i>	2+4	4—5	28	C.
41. <i>Chik128 suei-77</i>	4+8	4—5	32	B.
42. <i>Chik128 pi-50</i>	2+4	4—5	32	C.
43. <i>Sĩ30 k'iu:145</i>	2+4	5—6	46	C.
44. <i>Chang:64 p'i; 107</i>	4	6	46	C.
45. Nei-11 tsai:40	2+12	3—5	100	B.
46. <i>Nei-11 siao:42 ch'en;131</i>	4	4	10	B.
47. <i>Hun169 jen9</i>	Several	—	—	B.
48. <i>Sĩ-41 jen9</i>	(5)	—	—	A.B.
49. <i>Nei-11 shu-151</i>	Several	—	—	B.
50. <i>Kiu:5 pin38</i>	—	—	—	B.
51. <i>Shĩ-1 fu-38</i>	—	—	—	C.
52. <i>Nũ:38 yũ-60</i>	—	—	—	B.
53. <i>Nũ:38 chuk113</i>	(4)	—	8	C.
54. <i>Nũ:38 shĩ:30</i>	(8)	—	16	C.
55. <i>Tien:12 fu-38 kung19</i>	2+4	5—6	34	C.
56. <i>Tien:12 sĩ120</i>	2	6	20	C.
57. <i>Tien:12 sĩ:75</i>	2	6	24	C.
58. <i>Nei-11 sĩ30 fuk74</i>	(1)	(eunuch)	10	C.
59. <i>Feng:120 jen9</i>	(2)	(eunuchs)	118	B.
60. <i>Jan:75 jen9</i>	2	6	24	C.
61. <i>Tuei162 shĩ50</i>	2	6	9	C.
62. <i>Kũ-44 jen9</i>	2	6	14	C.
63. <i>Hia-135 ts'ai-165</i>	4	6	5	C.

* * *

64. Ta-37 sĩ30 t'u:60	1	1	150	A.B.
65. Siao:42 sĩ30 t'u:60	2	2		C.
66. Hiang163 shĩ50	4+56	3—6		C.
67. <i>Hiang163 lao:125</i>	Several	<i>Kung12</i>	—	C.
68. Hiang163 ta-37 fu37	Several	1	—	B.
69. Chou47 chang:168	Several	2	—	B.
70. Tang:203 cheng-77	Several	3	—	B.
71. <i>Tsut70 shĩ50</i>	Several	4	—	C.
72. <i>Lũ169 sũ130</i>	Several	5	—	C.
73. <i>Pi-81 chang:168</i>	Several	6	—	A.
74. <i>Feng41 jen9</i>	4+8	5—6	72	A.B.
75. <i>Ku:207 jen9</i>	6	5	24	B.
76. <i>Wu:136 shĩ50</i>	2	6	44	A.
77. <i>Muk93 jen9</i>	6	6	63	B.
78. <i>Niu:93 jen9</i>	2+4	5—6	226	B.

Office	Noblemen	Rank	Assistants	Free texts
79. <i>Ch'ung</i> 10 <i>jen</i> 9	2	6	46	C.
80. <i>Tsai</i> -159 <i>shī</i> 50	2+4	4—5	72	C.
81. <i>Lü</i> 169 <i>shī</i> 50	2	5	22	C.
82. <i>Hien</i> -120 <i>shī</i> 50	2+4	4—5	94	A.B.
83. <i>Yi</i> :162 <i>jen</i> 9	2+4	4—5	50	C.
84. <i>Kün</i> 32 <i>jen</i> 9	2+4	5—6	50	C.
85. Shī 50 shī -83	1+2	2, 4	136	A.B.
86. Pao :9 shī -83	1+2	3, 5	70	B.
87. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>kien</i> -149	2	5	22	B.
88. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>kiu</i> -66	2	5	22	C.
89. <i>T'iao</i> :149 <i>jen</i> 9	2	6	12	C.
90. <i>Mei</i> :38 <i>shī</i> -83	2	6	12	C.
91. Sī 30 shī -50	2+28	3—6	144	B.
92. <i>Chü</i> 154 <i>jen</i> 9	2+4	5—6	28	C.
93. <i>Ch'an</i> :53 <i>jen</i> 9	2+4	5—6	28	C.
94. <i>Sü</i> 130 <i>shī</i> 50	—	—	—	C.
95. <i>Kia</i> :154 <i>shī</i> 50	—	—	—	B.
96. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>pao</i> -141	—	—	—	C.
97. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>ki</i> 115	—	—	—	C.
98. <i>Sü</i> 130	—	—	—	C.
99. <i>Sī</i> -129 <i>chang</i> :168	—	—	—	C.
100. <i>Ts'üan</i> :85 <i>fu</i> :53	4+24	4—6	100	C.
101. Sī 30 men 169	2+28	3—6	50	B.
102. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>kuan</i> 169	2+4	4—5	94	B.
103. <i>Chang</i> :64 <i>tsiet</i> 118	2+4	4—5	28	C.
104. Suei -162 <i>jen</i> 9	2	2	148	B.
105. Suei -162 <i>shī</i> 50	4+56	3—6		B.
106. Suei -162 <i>ta</i> -37 <i>fu</i> 37	Several	2	—	B.
107. Hien -120 <i>cheng</i> -77	Several	3	—	B.
108. <i>Pi</i> :163 <i>shī</i> 50	Several	4	—	C.
109. <i>Tsuan</i> -163 <i>chang</i> :168	Several	5	—	C.
110. <i>Lī</i> :166 <i>tsai</i> :40	Several	6	—	B.
111. <i>Līn</i> 163 <i>chang</i> :168	Several	—	—	C.
112. <i>Lü</i> :70 <i>shī</i> 50	4+8	5—6	94	C.
113. <i>Shao</i> 115 <i>jen</i> 9	4	6	14	C.
114. <i>Wei</i> :38 <i>jen</i> 9	2+4	5—6	46	B.
115. <i>T'u</i> :32 <i>kün</i> 32	2+12	4—6	50	B.
116. <i>Ts'ao</i> :140 <i>jen</i> 9	4	6	14	C.
117. <i>Tao</i> -115 <i>jen</i> 9	2+12	4—6	116	C.
118. <i>T'u</i> :32 <i>hün</i> -149	2+4	5—6	10	C.
119. <i>Sung</i> -149 <i>hün</i> -149	2+4	5—6	10	C.
120. <i>Shan</i> 46 <i>yü</i> :141	Several	5—6	Several	B.
121. <i>Līn</i> 75 <i>heng</i> :144	Several	6	Several	B.
122. <i>Ch'uan</i> 47 <i>heng</i> :144	Several	6	Several	B.
123. <i>Tsek</i> 85 <i>yü</i> :141	Several	5—6	Several	B.
124. <i>Tsit</i> 162 <i>jen</i> 9	4+8	5—6	42	A.
125. <i>Kung</i> :55 <i>jen</i> 9	2+4	5—6	48	C.
126. <i>Küek</i> 148 <i>jen</i> 9	2	6	9	C.
127. <i>Yü</i> :124 <i>jen</i> 9	2	6	9	A.
128. <i>Chang</i> :64 <i>kot</i> 140	2	6	24	C.
129. <i>Chang</i> :64 <i>jan</i> :75 <i>ts'ao</i> :140	2	6	11	C.

Office	Noblemen	Rank	Assistants	Free texts
130. <i>Chang:64 t'an-86</i>	2	6	22	C.
131. <i>Chang:64 t'u;140</i>	2	6	22	C.
132. <i>Chang:64 shen-142</i>	2	6	10	B.
133. <i>Yu-31 jen9</i>	4+8	5—6	90	C.
134. <i>Ch'ang:32 jen9</i>	Several	6	Several	B.
135. <i>Lin:53 jen9</i>	2+28	3—6	354	A.B.
136. <i>She-135 jen9</i>	2+4	4—5	50	C.
137. <i>Ts'ang9 jen9</i>	4+8	5—6	50	C.
138. <i>Si30 luk113</i>	4+8	5—6	46	C.
139. <i>Si30 kia-115</i>	8	6	44	C.
140. <i>Ch'ung134 jen9</i>	(2)	(eunuchs)	7	B.
141. <i>Ch'i-184 jen9</i>	(2)	(eunuchs)	48	B.
142. <i>Kao:115 jen9</i>	(8)	(eunuchs)	21	C.

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143. <i>Ta-37 tsung40 pok9</i>	1	1	150	A.B.
144. <i>Siao:42 tsung40 pok9</i>	2	2		B.
145. <i>Si-129 shi50</i>	4+56	3—6		C.
146. <i>Yü192 jen9</i>	2	6	11	A.
147. <i>Ch'ang-192 jen9</i>	2	6	10	C.
148. <i>Ki172 jen9</i>	1	6	5	C.
149. <i>Si30 tsun41 yi;58</i>	2	6	28	B.
150. <i>Si30 ki16 yen;118</i>	2	6	11	C.
151. <i>T'ien37 fu:53</i>	1+2	4—5	28	C.
152. <i>Tien:12 juei-96</i>	2	5	15	C.
153. <i>Tien:12 ming-30</i>	2	5	15	C.
154. <i>Si30 fuk74</i>	2	5	14	C.
155. <i>Tien:12 si;113</i>	2+4	5—6	48	C.
156. <i>Shou:40 t'iao113</i>	8	(eunuchs)	Several	C.
157. <i>Shi-1 fu-38</i>	Several	1, 3, 5	Several	C.
158. <i>Nei-11 tsung40</i>	—	—	—	B.
159. <i>Wai-36 tsung40</i>	—	—	—	C.
160. <i>Chung:14 jen9</i>	2+4	3, 5	138	C.
161. <i>Mu-32 ta-37 fu37</i>	2+8	3, 5	226	B.
162. <i>Chik128 sang-30</i>	2+12	4—6	50	A.
163. <i>Ta-37 si30 yüek75</i>	2	2	100	B.
164. <i>Yüek75 shi50</i>	4+24	3, 4, 6		B.
165. <i>Ta-37 sü130</i>	4	5		C.
166. <i>Siao:42 sü130</i>	8	6	46	C.
167. <i>Ta-37 shi50</i>	2	3	144	A.
168. <i>Siao:42 shi50</i>	4	4		B.
169. <i>Ku:109 meng109</i>	(300)	—		B.
170. <i>Shi-109 liao-109</i>	(300)	—	24	C.
171. <i>Tien:12 t'ung;30</i>	2	5		C.
172. <i>K'ing-112 shi50</i>	4+8	5—6	50	B.
173. <i>Chung167 shi50</i>	4+8	5—6	70	C.
174. <i>Sheng118 shi50</i>	2+4	5—6	15	B.
175. <i>Pok167 shi50</i>	2+4	5—6	26	C.
176. <i>Mei-178 shi50</i>	2	6	58	C.
177. <i>Mao;70 jen9</i>	4	6	Several	C.

Office	Noblemen	Rank	Assistants	Free texts
178. <i>Yüek118 shi50</i>	4	5	26	B.
179. <i>Yüek118 chang117</i>	2+4	5—6	24	C.
180. <i>Ti177 kü-177 shi-83</i>	4	6	24	C.
181. <i>Tien:12 yung53 k'i-30</i>	4	6	94	C.
182. <i>Si30 kan51</i>	2	6	24	C.
183. Ta-37 puk25	2	3	48	A.B.
184. <i>Puk25 shi50</i>	4+24	4—6		B.
185. <i>Kuei213 jen9</i>	2	5	52	C.
186. <i>Shuei140 shi-83</i>	2	6	9	C.
187. <i>Chan25 jen9</i>	8	6	11	C.
188. <i>Shi-118 jen9</i>	2	5	7	A.B.
189. <i>Chan25 meng-36</i>	2	5	6	A.B.
190. <i>Shi-109 tsin113</i>	2	5	6	C.
191. Ta-37 chuk113	2+4	3—4	50	A.B.
192. <i>Siao:42 chuk113</i>	8+16	5—6		B.
193. <i>Sang-30 chuk113</i>	2+12	4—6	48	B.
194. <i>Tien-102 chuk113</i>	2	6	6	C.
195. <i>Tsu:149 chuk113</i>	2	6	6	B.
196. <i>Si30 wu48</i>	2	5	13	C.
197. <i>Nan102 wu48</i>	Several	—	50	B.
198. <i>Nü:38 wu48</i>	Several	—		B.
199. Ta-37 shi:30	2+4	3—4	56	A.B.
200. <i>Siao:42 shi:30</i>	8+16	5—6		A.
201. <i>P'ing:187 siang-109 shi-83</i>	2+4	5—6	14	B.
202. <i>Pao:9 chang117 shi-83</i>	2+4	5—6	14	C.
203. Nei-11 shi:30	1+30	2—6	56	A.B.
204. <i>Wai-36 shi:30</i>	4+24	4—6	22	A.B.
205. <i>Yü-60 shi:30</i>	8+16	5—6	168	B.
206. Kin50 kü159	2+28	3—6	167	A.B.
207. <i>Tien:12 lu-157</i>	2+4	5—6	26	C.
208. <i>Kü159 p'uk9</i>	2+4	5—6	26	C.
209. <i>Si30 ch'ang;50</i>	2+4	5—6	48	C.
210. <i>Tu163 tsung40 jen9</i>	2+4	4—5	50	B.
211. <i>Kia40 tsung40 jen9</i>	2+4	4—5	50	B.

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212. Ta-37 si30 ma:187	1	1	374	A.B.
213. Siao:42 si30 ma:187	2	2		B.
214. Kün159 si30 ma:187	4	3		B.
215. <i>Yü:159 si30 ma:187</i>	8	4		A.
216. <i>Hang:144 si30 ma:187</i>	16+32	5—6	28	C.
217. <i>Si30 hün19</i>	2+4	4, 6		C.
218. <i>Ma:187 chü154</i>	2	5	15	C.
219. <i>Liang166 jen9</i>	2	6	13	C.
220. <i>Siao:42 tsü</i>	2	6	9	C.
221. <i>Yang:123 jen9</i>	2	6	11	C.
222. <i>Si30 kuan-86</i>	2	6	6	B.
223. <i>Chang:64 ku-31</i>	2+8	4, 6	50	C.
224. <i>Si30 hien:170</i>	2+4	5—6	42	C.
225. <i>Chang:64 kiang102</i>	8	5	180	B.

Office	Noblemen	Rank	Assistants	Free texts
226. <i>Hou-9 jen9</i>	6+12	4, 6	126	A.B.
227. <i>Huan;96 jen9</i>	6	6	14	C.
228. <i>K'iet64 hu;31 shi-83</i>	6	6	14	C.
229. <i>She-41 jen9</i>	2+12	3, 4, 6	28	B.
230. <i>Fuk74 put shi-83</i>	1	6	4	B.
231. <i>She-41 niao:196 shi-83</i>	1	6	4	C.
232. <i>Lo122 shi-83</i>	1	6	8	C.
233. <i>Chang:64 huk102</i>	2	6	24	C.
234. <i>Si30 shi-33</i>	2+18	3, 5, 6	50	A.
235. <i>Chu tsī</i>	2+4	3, 5	26	B.
236. <i>Si30 yu-30</i>	2+4	4, 6	96	C.
237. <i>Hu:141 pen154 shi-83</i>	2+12	3, 5	890	B.
238. <i>Lü:70 pen154 shi-83</i>	2+16	5—6	10	B.
239. <i>Tsiet118 fuk74 shi-83</i>	8	6	4	B.
240. <i>Fang70 siang-109 shi-83</i>	(4)	—	—	B.
241. <i>Ta-37 p'uk9</i>	2	3	28	B.
242. <i>Siao:42 ch'en;131</i>	4	4		B.
243. <i>Tsi-113 p'uk9</i>	6	5		C.
244. <i>Yü-60 p'uk9</i>	12	6		B.
245. <i>Li-171 p'uk9</i>	2	6	47	C.
246. <i>Pien-55 shi50</i>	2	6	10	B.
247. <i>Si30 kiap102</i>	2+8	3, 5	100	C.
248. <i>Si30 ping12</i>	4	5	28	C.
249. <i>Si30 ko62 tun-109</i>	2	6	7	C.
250. <i>Si30 kung57 shi:111</i>	2+8	3, 5	100	C.
251. <i>Shan-120 jen9</i>	2+4	4, 6	25	C.
252. <i>K'ao:75 jen9</i>	4	5	28	C.
253. <i>Jung62 yu-30</i>	2+2	2, 4	—	A.B.
254. <i>Chai210 yu-30</i>	2	3	—	C.
255. <i>Tao-162 yu-30</i>	2	4	—	C.
256. <i>Ta-37 yü-187</i>	2	2	—	C.
257. <i>Jung62 p'uk9</i>	2	2	—	B.
258. <i>Chai210 p'uk9</i>	2	3	—	C.
259. <i>Tao-162 p'uk9</i>	12	4	—	C.
260. <i>T'ien;102 p'uk9</i>	12	4	—	C.
261. <i>Yü-187 fu37</i>	20+40	5—6	—	C.
262. <i>Hiao-75 jen9</i>	2+20	2, 4, 6	100	A.B.
263. <i>Ts'ou:156 ma:187</i>	Several	6	Several	A.B.
264. <i>Wu48 ma:187</i>	2	6	29	C.
265. <i>Muk93 shi50</i>	4	6	44	C.
266. <i>Sou53 jen9</i>	2	6	Several	C.
267. <i>Yü;31 shi50</i>	(Several)	—	Several	C.
268. <i>Yü;31 jen9</i>	(Several)	—	Several	A.B.
269. <i>Chik128 fang70 shi-83</i>	4+24	2, 3, 5	196	A.
270. <i>T'u:32 fang70 shi-83</i>	5+10	4, 6	62	C.
271. <i>Huai;61 fang70 shi-83</i>	8	5	52	C.
272. <i>Hop30 fang70 shi-83</i>	8	5	52	C.
273. <i>Hün-149 fang70 shi-83</i>	4	5	52	C.
274. <i>Hing;59 fang70 shi-83</i>	4	5	52	C.
275. <i>Shan46 shi50</i>	2+4	5—6	50	C.
276. <i>Ch'uan47 shi50</i>	2+4	5—6	50	C.

Office	Noblemen	Rank	Assistants	Free texts
277. <i>Yüan</i> ;162 <i>shī</i> 50	4+8	5—6	100	C.
278. <i>K'uang</i> 22 <i>jen</i> 9	4	5	12	C.
279. <i>T'an</i> ;64 <i>jen</i> 9	4	5	12	C.
280. <i>Tu</i> 163 <i>sī</i> 30 <i>ma</i> :187	Several	4—6	Several	C.
281. <i>Kia</i> 40 <i>sī</i> 30 <i>ma</i> :187	Several	—	—	B.

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282. Ta-37 sī 30 k'ou-40	1	1	150	A.B.
283. Siao :42 sī 30 k'ou-40	2	2		B.
284. Shī-33 shī 50	4	3		A.
285. <i>Hiang</i> 163 <i>shī</i> -33	8+48	4—6		C.
286. <i>Suei</i> -162 <i>shī</i> -33	12	5	150	C.
287. <i>Hien</i> -120 <i>shī</i> -33	32	5	200	B.
288. <i>Fang</i> 70 <i>shī</i> -33	16	5	200	C.
289. <i>Ya</i> -149 <i>shī</i> -33	8	5	100	C.
290. <i>Ch'ao</i> ;74 <i>shī</i> -33	6	5	75	B.
291. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>min</i> 83	6	5	42	A.
292. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>hing</i> ;18	2	5	25	C.
293. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>ts'ī</i> -18	2	6	7	C.
294. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>yüek</i> 120	2	6	7	C.
295. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>meng</i> 108	2	6	7	B.
296. <i>Chik</i> 128 <i>kin</i> 167	2+4	4, 6	94	C.
297. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>li</i> -27	2	6	13	C.
298. <i>K'üan</i> :94 <i>jen</i> 9	2	6	23	C.
299. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>yüan</i> ;31	6+12	5—6	185	C.
300. <i>Chang</i> :64 <i>ts'iu</i> ;31	12	6	138	C.
301. <i>Chang</i> :64 <i>luk</i> 62	2	6	13	B.
302. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>li</i> -171	2+12	5—6	235	C.
303. <i>Tsuei</i> -122 <i>li</i> -171	(120)	—	—	C.
304. <i>Man</i> 142 <i>li</i> -171	(120)	—	—	C.
305. <i>Min</i> :169 <i>li</i> -171	(120)	—	—	C.
306. <i>Yi</i> ;37 <i>li</i> -171	(120)	—	—	C.
307. <i>Mok</i> 153 <i>li</i> -171	(120)	—	—	C.
308. <i>Pu</i> -50 <i>hien</i> -61	2+4	5—6	50	C.
309. <i>Kin</i> -113 <i>sha</i> 79 <i>luk</i> 62	2	6	13	C.
310. <i>Kin</i> -113 <i>pao</i> -72 <i>shī</i> -83	6	6	69	C.
311. <i>Ye</i> :166 <i>lu</i> 53 <i>shī</i> -83	6	6	132	C.
312. <i>Ts'ü</i> -142 <i>shī</i> -83	4	6	40	C.
313. <i>Yung</i> 172 <i>shī</i> -83	2	6	8	C.
314. <i>P'ing</i> ;140 <i>shī</i> -83	2	6	8	C.
315. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>wu</i> -40 <i>shī</i> -83	2	6	8	C.
316. <i>Sī</i> 30 <i>huei</i> 186 <i>shī</i> -83	6	6	16	C.
317. <i>T'iao</i> ;75 <i>lang</i> 94 <i>shī</i> -83	6	6	66	C.
318. <i>Siu</i> 30 <i>lü</i> 169 <i>shī</i> -83	2	6	13	C.
319. <i>Ming</i> 14 <i>shī</i> -83	2	6	8	C.
320. <i>Chu</i> -53 <i>shī</i> -83	1	6	4	C.
321. <i>Hüet</i> 116 <i>shī</i> -83	1	6	4	C.
322. <i>Ch'ī</i> -124 <i>shī</i> -83	2	6	8	C.
323. <i>Tsok</i> 75 <i>shī</i> -85	8	6	20	C.
324. <i>T'ī</i> -140 <i>shī</i> -83	2	6	20	C.

Office	Noblemen	Rank	Assistants	Free texts
325. <i>Ch'et</i> 112 <i>ts'uk</i> 140 <i>shī</i> -83	1	6	2	C.
326. <i>Tsien</i> :124 <i>shī</i> -83	2	6	2	C.
327. <i>Ts'ik</i> 155 <i>pot</i> 29 <i>shī</i> -83	1	6	2	C.
328. <i>Kuok</i> 142 <i>shī</i> -83	1	6	2	C.
329. <i>Hu</i> :33 <i>chok</i> 85 <i>shī</i> -83	1	6	2	C.
330. <i>T'ing</i> :53 <i>shī</i> -83	1	6	2	C.
331. <i>Hien</i> :167 <i>mei</i> :75 <i>shī</i> -83	2	6	8	C.
332. <i>Yi</i> 9 <i>k'i</i> :125 <i>shī</i> -83	1	6	2	C.
333. Ta -37 hing :144 jen 9	2	2	100	A.B.
334. Siao :42 hing :144 jen 9	4	3		B.
335. <i>Si</i> 30 <i>yi</i> :9	8+16	4—5		C.
336. <i>Hing</i> :144 <i>fu</i> 37	32	6		C.
337. <i>Huan</i> :96 <i>jen</i> 9	4	5	48	C.
338. <i>Siang</i> -152 <i>sü</i> 130	Several	4—6	Several	B.
339. <i>Chang</i> :64 <i>k'ok</i> 40	2+4	4, 6	35	C.
340. <i>Chang</i> :64 <i>ya</i> -149	8	5	50	C.
341. <i>Chang</i> :64 <i>kiao</i> 8	8	5	38	C.
342. <i>Chang</i> :64 <i>ch'at</i> 40 <i>si</i> 30 <i>fang</i> 70	8	5	20	C.
343. <i>Chang</i> :64 <i>huo</i> -154 <i>huei</i> - 154	16	6	36	C.
344. <i>Ch'ao</i> :74 <i>ta</i> -37 <i>fu</i> 37	Several	4, 6	Several	C.
345. <i>Tu</i> 163 <i>tsek</i> 18	1+2	5—6	87	C.
346. <i>Tu</i> 163 <i>shī</i> -33	2+4	5—6	50	C.
347. <i>Kia</i> 40 <i>shī</i> -33	2+4	5—6	50	C.

In this survey we find that 38 %, i. e. 133 of the Chou Li offices, are identified in the free texts.¹⁾ If we consider, on the one hand, that of the 347 offices described in the Chou Li a large majority pertains to public servants of low status, petty officers sometimes little more than menials; and, on the other hand, that the free pre-Han texts which we can draw upon for their identification are very few, only Tso Chuan, Kuo Yü and Chan Kuo Ts'e being historical documents of some length, it is surprising that out of this motley crowd of high or low officials of all grades in the Chou Li no less than 38 % happen to be mentioned in one or other of the few free texts at our disposal.

The congruence between the Chou Li system and that reflected in the free texts is still more strongly underlined if we limit our comparison to the higher officials, such as are more likely to figure in the said few historical texts. In our list above they are indicated by figures in bold type: the high-ranked dignitaries in the Chou

¹⁾ Identical titles: Offices nos. — 1, 3, 6, 7, 12, 48, 64, 73, 74, 76, 82, 85, 124, 127, 135, 143, 146, 162, 167, 183, 188, 189, 191, 199, 200, 203, 204, 206, 212, 215, 226, 234, 253, 262, 263, 268, 269, 282, 284, 291, 333.

Corresponding titles: Offices nos. — 2, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 19, 20, 24, 30, 34, 41, 45, 46, 47, 49, 50, 52, 59, 68, 69, 70, 75, 77, 78, 86, 87, 91, 95, 101, 102, 104, 105, 106, 107, 110, 114, 115, 120, 121, 122, 123, 132, 134, 140, 141, 144, 149, 158, 161, 163, 164, 168, 169, 172, 174, 178, 184, 192, 193, 195, 197, 198, 201, 205, 210, 211, 213, 214, 222, 225, 229, 230, 235, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 244, 246, 257, 281, 283, 287, 290, 295, 301, 334, 338.

Identical and corresponding titles: Offices nos. — 1, 3, 6, 7, 12, 48, 64, 74, 82, 85, 135, 143, 183, 188, 189, 191, 199, 203, 204, 206, 212, 226, 253, 262, 263, 268, 282, 333.

Li, i. e. such as have the rank of *K'ing*²⁶, *Chung*^{2 ta-37 fu}³⁷ and *Hia*-1 ta-37 fu³⁷. We get a group of 56 Chou Li offices, of which 46 are identifiable in the free texts, i. e. around 80 %.¹⁾ This high percentage is in itself a clear indication that the general outline of the administrative system in the Chou Li and the free texts is fundamentally the same. The congruence being so marked, it might be tempting to say that the Chou Li has been concocted in Han or later times by scholars, who have reconstructed the system of offices with the aid of the scattered data in the pre-Han historical texts. Such is the contention of a number of scholars, and their theories have been conveniently summed up by O. Franke in his 'Geschichte des chinesischen Reiches' III:64—65.

Our investigation above immediately reveals the fallacy of such a speculation. We have seen that in a great many cases the free texts have other denominations for an office than the Chou Li, though the function is one and the same. A compiler in Han or Liu-ch'ao times would obviously have been careful to avoid such discrepancies and to adhere scrupulously to his free sources, if he wished to have his faked text accepted as genuine.

The fact just mentioned: that for one and the same office the Chou Li so often has a denomination diverging from that or those found in the free texts may seem surprising, but it confirms the authenticity of the Chou Li as a pre-Han work, for this phenomenon is quite in keeping with what we observe in the free texts themselves. In a great many cases an office, even a very prominent one, has not only one but two or several names in one and the same feudal state. An example of this is Office 143 above; this occurs in Lu under the names of *Tsung*⁴⁰, *Tsung*^{40 jen}⁹ and *Tsung*^{40 pok}⁹.

The agreement between the Chou Li system and that of the free texts is best illustrated in the case of the highest officials. The members of the Chou Li cabinet are in general met with under identical or almost identical titles in various states, viz.:

	1	64	143	212	282	
	<i>Tsai</i> :40	<i>Si</i> 30 <i>i'u</i> ,60	<i>Tsung</i> 40 <i>pok</i> 9	<i>Si</i> 30 <i>ma</i> : 187	<i>Si</i> 30 <i>k'ou</i> -40	<i>Si</i> 30 <i>k'ung</i> 116
Royal Chou ²⁾	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ch'en		x		x		x
Cheng	x	x		x	x	x
Ch'u	x	x		x		
Lu	x	x	x	x	x	x
Sung	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ts'i	x		x	x	x	x
Tsin				x	x	x
Ts'in	x			x		x
Wei-144	x	x	x		x	x
Wei-194		x		x		
Wu	x					

¹⁾ Offices nos. — 1, 2, 3, 34, 45, 64, 68, 69, 70, 85, 86, 91, 101, 104, 105, 106, 107, 135, 143, 144, 161, 163, 164, 167, 183, 191, 199, 203, 206, 212, 213, 214, 229, 234, 235, 237, 241, 253, 257, 262, 269, 282, 283, 284, 333, 334.

²⁾ We must bear in mind that, though the *Tsai*:40 was not always in middle and late feudal Chou the Premier in the various states, he was nonetheless a member of the cabinet (cf. Office 1 above).

It is interesting to observe here that the accord between the Chou Li and the free texts is most perfect in regard to the primary states of the Chou confederation in the heart of Northern China: Royal Chou, Cheng, Lu, Sung, Ts'i and Wei-144 (for the aberrant Tsin see further below).

In the free texts we meet with certain enumerations of the high-ranked functionaries at a given moment in one state or another, viz.:

Royal Chou (early period):

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Si30 t'u;60
 Si30 ma:187
 Si30 k'ung116
 (S h u pp. 29, 46, 68.)</p> | <p>2. Si30 k'ung116
 Si30 t'u;60
 Si30 k'ou-40
 (S h u p. 30.)</p> |
| <p>3. K'i;32 fu-88 (= <i>Si30 ma:187</i>)
 Nung161 fu-88 (= <i>Si30 t'u;60</i>)
 Hung;40 fu-88 (= <i>Si30 k'ung116</i>)
 (S h u p. 46.)</p> | <p>4. K'ing26 shi-33
 Si30 t'u;60
 Chung;14 tsai:40
 <i>Shan-130 fu37</i>
 <i>Nei-11 shi:30</i>
 Ts'ou:156 ma:187 (= <i>Si30 ma:187?</i>)
 <i>Shi50 shi-83</i>
 (S h i p. 139.)</p> |
| <p>5. Chung;14 tsai:40
 Ts'ou: 156 ma:187 (= <i>Si30 ma:187?</i>)
 <i>Shi50 shi-83</i>
 <i>Shan-130 fu37</i>
 (S h i p. 226.)</p> | <p>6. Ta-37 tsai:40
 Si30 k'ou-40
 Si30 k'ung116
 (T s o III:505.)</p> |

Ch'en:

1. **Chuk113**
Si30 t'u;60
Si30 ma:187
Si30 k'ung116
 (T s o II:431.)

Cheng:

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. Tang102 kuok31 (= <i>Ta-37 tsai:40</i>)
 <i>Wei cheng-66</i>
 Si30 ma:187
 (T s o II:185.)</p> | <p>2. Tang102 kuok31 (= <i>Ta-37 tsai:40</i>)
 Si30 ma:187
 Si30 k'ung116
 Si30 t'u;60
 (T s o II:259.)</p> |
|--|---|

Ch'u:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1. Ling-9 yin:44
 Si30 ma:187
 (T s o I:379, III:215, 631, 722.)</p> | <p>2. Ling-9 yin:44
 <i>Mok140 ao:66</i>
 (T s o I:134, II:433.)</p> |
| <p>3. Ling-9 yin:44
 Si30 ma:187
 <i>Kung48 cheng-77</i>
 (T s o I:585.)</p> | <p>4. Ling-9 yin:44
 Si30 ma:187
 <i>Mok140 ao:66</i>
 (T s o II:383.)</p> |

5. *Ling-9 yin:44*
Ta-37 tsai:40
 (T s o III:2,42.)

7. *Yu-30 yin:44*
Kung40 kiu-53 yin:44
Ta-37 tsai:40
 (T s o III:40.)

Lu:

1. *Sĩ30 t'u;60*
Sĩ30 ma:187
Kung48 cheng-77
Sĩ30 k'ung116
 (T s o III:95.)

Sung:

1. *Yu-30 shĩ50*
Tso:48 shĩ50
Sĩ30 ma:187
Sĩ30 t'u;60
Sĩ30 ch'eng;32 (= Sĩ30 k'ung116)
Sĩ30 k'ou-40
 (T s o I:478, 537.)

3. *Yu-30 shĩ50*
Ta-37 sĩ30 ma:187
Sĩ30 t'u;60
Tso:48 shĩ50
Sĩ30 ch'eng;32 (= Sĩ30 k'ung116)
Ta-37 sĩ30 k'ou-40
 (All subordinate to *Ta-37 yin:44*;
 T s o III:761—762.)

5. *Sĩ30 ma:187*
Ta-37 tsai:40
 (T s o I:68.)

Tsin:

1. *Tsiang-41 shang-1 kün159*
Tso-9
Tsiang-41 hia-1 kün159

6. *Ling-9 yin:44*
Yu-30 yin:44
Ta-37 sĩ30 ma:187
Yu-30 sĩ30 ma:187
Tso:48 sĩ30 ma:187
Mok140 ao;66
Chen118 yin:44
Lien162 yin:44
Kung40 kiu-53 yin:44
 (T s o II:315—316.)

2. *Yu-30 shĩ50*
Tso:48 shĩ50
Sĩ30 ma:187
Sĩ30 t'u;60
Sĩ30 ch'eng;32 (= Sĩ30 k'ung116)
Ta-37 sĩ30 k'ou-40
Shao-42 sĩ30 k'ou-40
Ta-37 tsai:40
Shao-42 tsai:40
 (T s o II:118.)

4. *Ta-37 sĩ30 ma:187*
Ta-37 sĩ30 t'u;60
Sĩ30 ch'eng;32 (= Sĩ30 k'ung116)
Tso:48 shĩ50
Yu-30 shĩ50
Ta-37 sĩ30 k'ou-40
 (T s o III:347.)

2. *Tsiang-41 chung2 kün159*
Tsiang-41 shang-1 kün159
Tsiang-41 hia-1 kün159

- Tso-9*
(T s o II:283.)
3. *Tsiang-41 chung2 kün159*
Tso-9
Tsiang-41 shang-1 kün159
Tso-9
Tsiang-41 hia-1 kün159
Tso-9
Tso-9 sin69 kün159
(T s o II:124—215.)
5. *Tsiang-41 chung2 kün159*
Tso-9
Tsiang-41 shang-1 kün159
Tso-9
Tsiang-41 hia-1 kün159
Tso-9
Chung2 kün159 ta-37 fu37
Shang-1 kün159 ta-37 fu37
Hia-1 kün159 ta-37 fu37
Si30 ma:187
(T s o I: 612—613.)
7. **Luk12 k'ing26** (= six ministers)
Kün159 wei-41
Si30 ma:187
Si30 k'ung116
Yü:159 wei-41
Hou-9 yen37
(T s o II:344.)
- Si30 ma:187**
(T s o II:8.)
4. *Tsiang-41 chung2 kün159*
Tso-9
Tsiang-41 shang-1 kün159
Tso-9
Tsiang-41 hia-1 kün159
Tso-9
Tsiang-41 sin69 kün159
Tso-9
(T s o II:107—108.)
6. *San1 shuai-50*
Si30 ma:187
Si30 k'ung116
Yü:159 shi50
Hou-9 cheng-77
(T s o II:21.)
8. **Luk12 cheng-77** (= six ministers)
Wu:7 li-30
30 Shuai-50
San1 kün159 ch'i ta-37 fu37
(T s o II:429.)

These enumerations are highly significant. As the highest functionaries in the state are given members of the '6 *K'ing26*' cabinet of the Chou Li in a number of important states, either exclusively or together with other high officials. The congruence with the Chou Li in the lists of dignitaries is particularly strong in Cheng, Lu and Sung (primary Chou states). Aberrant are, to a high degree, Ch'u and Tsin.

Ch'u, a 'barbarian' state, which comparatively late was sinicized and adopted the Chinese language and institutions, had a cabinet system of its own, in which only the offices *Si30 t'u:60*, *Si30 ma:187* and *Ta-37 tsai:40* are taken over from the Chou Li system.¹⁾ Tsin, on the other hand, was one of the early members of

¹⁾ The Premier is the *Ling-9 yin:44* (cf. Office 1 above), who, in the inscriptions, is also met with as *Ming-30 yin:44* (Maspero, H., Contribution à l'étude de la société Chinoise à la fin des Chang et au début des Tcheou, BEFEO XLVI fasc. 2 pp. 401—402). The Ministers of Justice and Works are called *Si30 pai-66* and *Kung48 yin:44* respectively (cf. Office 282 and pp. 54—55 above). Among the high-ranking officers in Ch'u the free texts record the *Mok140 ao:66* (cf. the enumerations Ch'u: 2,4 above as well as T s o I:105, 110, 112 and passim; cf. Index; Chan k. 14 pp. 23—25), whose actual status it is impossible to define more precisely. It is questionable whether he should be identified with the

the Chinese confederation, but it had a position as a belligerent border state. Constantly at war with northern tribes in order to enlarge its territory through conquest, it introduced a military government, and, when we still find officers there called *Si30 ma:187*, *Si30 k'ung116* and *Si30 k'ou-40*, they were no longer the leading ministers (*K'ing26*) but simple officials, some of them certainly officers in the armies. When the highest dignitaries in the state are enumerated, it is in the fashion of nos. 1—5 above, and in no. 7 it is stated that the *Luk12 k'ing26* (leaders of armies) were amply rewarded, whereas the *Kün159 wei-41*, *Si30 ma:187*, *Si30 k'ung116*, *Yü:159 wei-41* and *Hou-9 yen37* (who thus were *not K'ing26*) were more modestly rewarded.¹⁾

Particularly interesting, however, is the state of Sung, the heir of the Yin realm, with all its traditions and institutions from the preceding dynasty. In *Ts o* II:118 cited above it shows up a cabinet with all the Chou Li members except the minister of cult and rites, who, however, as master of cult and rites, is recorded for Sung in other instances in the free texts (cf. Office 143, note 1 above). This is, indeed, a matter of paramount importance for solving the question of the dating and the origin of the Chou Li governing system, if we consider the fact that no such composition of the cabinet is recorded in the *Shi King* for Royal Chou (*S h i* pp. 139, 226 cited above), and that the *Shu King* enumerates, for the beginning of the Chou era, four only of the Chou Li cabinet members, i. e. *Si30 t'u:60*, *Si30 ma:187*, *Si30 k'ung116* and *Si30 k'ou-40* (*S h u* pp. 29, 30, 46, 68 cited above).

Maspero has in the article quoted in note 1 above given an outline of the governing system at the end of the Yin and the beginning of the Chou dynasty. During these periods the head of the government, the Premier, is met with as *K'ing26 shi-6* (*K'ing26 shi-33*) (op. cit. pp. 377, 387—388), a denomination which we have already shown to be a mere circumlocution of the Premier (cf. Office 1 above), a fact which is also supported by Maspero, who says:

“Les inscriptions décrivent son activité (i. e. *K'ing26 shi-6* 's) sans toujours donner son titre exact, et il n'est pas impossible qu'il ait porté parfois d'autres titres, tout en accomplissant la même fonction; la cour des Tcheou n'est pas une administration rigoureusement organisée, et le personnage que le roi charge de diriger les affaires n'a pas absolument besoin de recevoir le titre ordinaire de la fonction qu'il remplit.” (Op. cit. p. 388).

This, indeed, lends support to *Ts o* III:505, where Chou Kung is said to act as Premier under the title *Ta-37 tsai:40* (cf. also Office 1 above). In the inscriptions

Tien:12 ling-9 in *Ch an* k. 27 p. 44, who is numbered among the highest officials in Ch'u, viz. *Ling-9 yin:44* and *Si30 ma:187*.

¹⁾ The commanders of the legions, which might be three or more in number, are met with as *Tsiang-41*, *Shuai-50* or *Cheng-77* (cf. the enumerations *Tsin*: 1—8 above) and hold as well as their assistants, the vice-commanders (who in the free texts are said to 'assist', *Tso-9*), the rank of *K'ing26* (*Ts o* II:21, 344; cf. *Ch ou* II:142). In each legion there were two *Ta-37 fu37* (*Ts o* I:612—613, II:171). In the army there were also officers called *Wei-41* (*Ts o* I:224) or *Kün159 wei-41* (*K u o* k. 13,4b), who might be attached to the central or upper legion (*Ts o* II:171; *K u o* k. 13,3a). The latter are also met with as *Yü:159 wei-41* or *Yü:159 shi50* (*Ts o* II:21, 344; *K u o* k. 13,3a). Besides them there were, furthermore, officers in charge of the reconnaissance called *Hou-9 cheng-77*, *Hou-9 yen37* or *Yüan:10 hou-9* (*Ts o* II:21, 171, 196, 344; *K u o* k. 13,3b).

the *Tsai:40* is described as the intendant of the Royal domains or major domo in the Royal palaces (Op. cit. pp. 377—382).¹⁾

According to Maspero the *Si30 t'u;60* and the *Si30 ma:187* were originally military officers, viz.:

“... (*Si30 t'u;60* and *Si30 ma:187*) paraissent avoir été au début essentiellement des chefs militaires chargés de recruter et de commander les troupes, le premier parmi les paysans qui combattaient à pied et tenaient garnison dans les places fortes, le second parmi les patriciens qui combattaient en char et dont on formait des corps expéditionnaires” (Op. cit. p. 391). “... (*Si30 t'u;60*) étaient alors des officiers locaux commandant des garnisons: un Directeur Général des Piétons ... (*Chung:14 si30 t'u;60*) ... commandait les huit régiments ... cantonnés à Ch'eng-chou ...; si on l'appelait Directeur Général, avec l'épithète ... (*Chung:14*), c'est vraisemblablement parce qu'il commandait à de simples Directeurs, et que chaque régiment ... devait avoir à sa tête un Directeur des Piétons. Un autre personnage ... reçoit la charge de Directeur de Piétons chargé de régir le Parc(?), avec ses gardes-chasse ... (*Lin75 heng144*) ses forestiers ... (*Yü:141*) et ses pasteurs ... (*Muk93*); la même fonction pour la région de Yang ... est conféré à un nommé T'ung, sans que le titre de ... (*Si30 t'u;60*) soit explicitement indiqué ... Dans un autre inscription, un ... (*Si30 t'u;60*) est chargé de diriger les cultures ...” (Op. cit. pp. 391—392).

With the *Si30 t'u;60* as originally a military officer we can better understand the titles *Juei-167 si30 t'u;60* or *Pik160 si30 t'u;60*, which, in *Ts o* II:15—16, indicate one and the same officer in the Sung army, as well as the presence of the *Si30 t'u;60* officer in the Tsin army (*Ts o* I:93 and *K u o* k. 13,3b).

In its description of the *Si30 t'u;60*, the *Chou Li* (*C h o u* I:214—216) also assigns to him the charge of a judge, a function which Maspero has found exemplified in an inscription (Op. cit. p. 393 and ib. note 6), but which is nowhere to be found in the free texts.

Curiously enough, Maspero does not even mention the presence of the *Tsung40 pok9* (Office 143) in the inscriptions. This may be an indication that this functionary did not hold such an outstanding position in the end of Yin and beginning of Chou as the *Chou Li* assigns to him, a fact which we have already pointed out for the middle and late feudal Chou periods (cf. Office 143 above).

The *Si30 ma:187* is frequently met with in the inscriptions, and Maspero describes him in the following way:

¹⁾ Cf. Office 1 above. — “Dans chaque domaine, le roi avait un Intendant ... (*Tsai:40*), chargé de le régir et de l'administrer; il y avait aussi des Inspecteurs des Cultures ... (*Tsün-102*), dont il est difficile de savoir s'ils étaient aux ordres de l'Intendant ou s'ils étaient des officiers chargés d'inspecter les Intendants de plusieurs domaines ...” (Op. cit. p. 377). — In the *Chou Li* the same functionary is not included in the administrative apparatus but is anyhow met with there as *T'ien:102 tsün-102* (*C h o u* II:66). In the free texts (*S h i* pp. 97, 166—167) and the systematizing text of the *Li Ki* (*L i* I:336) he is called *T'ien:102 tsün-102* and *T'ien:102* respectively.

In the early part of the Chou era there were also, according to the free texts, various officers attached to agriculture, viz. *Nung161 cheng-77*, *Nung161 shi50* and *Nung161 ta-37 fu37* (*K u o* k. 1,7a, 8a), all recorded for Royal Chou. The *Nung161 ta-37 fu37* is identified by Maspero with the *Tien-102 shi50* (Office 11) in the *Chou Li*. Other charges related to these agricultural officers are probably the *Ch'i-85 t'ien:102* (*S ü n* k. 5 p. 21), *Ta-37 t'ien:102* (*H a n* 3 p. 46; *Y e n* k. 4,1b; *L ü* pp. 274—275 in *Ts' i*) and *Yu:102 t'ien:102* (*K u a n* k. 1 p. 22).

“Dans les inscriptions, . . . (*Sĩ30 ma:187*) apparaissent souvent comme de hauts dignitaires qui assistent le récipiendaire . . . aux audiences royales . . . Les inscriptions montrent que le roi nommait des . . . (*Sĩ30 ma:187*) pour les domaines des grands seigneurs de la cour . . . La fonction des . . . (*Sĩ30 ma:187*) de domaines privés était, d’après les inscriptions, d’“administrer les domestiques, les archers” . . . Ce rôle de chef d’armée rituel, le . . . (*Sĩ30 ma:187*) le conservait encore traditionnellement à l’époque où le roi, devenu un personnage sacré, ne sortait pas de son Palais sacré situé dans une île artificielle, et ne communiquait plus directement avec ses sujets, des officiers accomplissant toutes les charges extérieures du gouvernement” (Op. cit. pp. 395, 396).

The *Sĩ30 k’ou-40* is also met with in the inscriptions, where he is said to be

“l’exécuteur des hautes oeuvres et le chef de la police, qui arrête ceux qui se livrent au brigandage, les juge, et leur applique les châtements” (Op. cit. p. 397).

In the inscriptions the *Sĩ30 k’ung116* is said to be

“chargé d’un domaine probablement plus artisanal qu’agricole, et y exerçant les mêmes fonctions que dans d’autres l’Intendant. De même que le . . . (*Sĩ30 t’u:60*) régit les paysans quand il y a quelque travail général exigeant des corvées, en dehors des travaux ordinaires des domaines royaux ou privés auxquels ils appartiennent, de même il est probable que le Directeur des Artisans intervient, quand quelque affaire publique exige l’emploi de main-d’oeuvre spéciale, réfection de route, plan de remparts ou de palais, préparation de chars, de cuirasses et d’armes pour l’armée, etc.” (Op. cit. p. 394).

The leading members of the Chou Li governing system, i. e. the members of the cabinet, are thus with only one exception (Office 143) well documented in the inscriptions for the end of the Yin era and the beginning of the Chou period. The same is also true of a few Chou Li offices, which have already been identified in the free texts for the middle and late feudal Chou periods, viz. *Shan-130 fu37*, *Nei-11 shĩ:30*, *Hu:141 ch’en:131* and *Ts’ou:156 ma:187* (Offices 6, 203, 237, 263), all of whom apparently fulfil functions similar to those described in the Chou Li (Op. cit. pp. 398—402). There is only one exception: according to Maspero the *Ts’ou:156 ma:187* may also be identified with the director of the Royal stables, thus being identical with the *Hiao-75 jen9* (Office 262) in the Chou Li (Op. cit. pp. 398—399). Several Chou Li offices are met with in the free texts outside the Royal or princely court (cf. Offices 1, 8, 47, 48, 49, 52, 64, 95, 143, 191, 199, 206, 212, 241, 245, 253, 262, 268), a fact which is also supported by the inscriptions (Op. cit. p. 386).

Thus the Chou Li depicts a governing system which, in all essentials, prevailed in middle and late feudal Chou in the various states and has its roots in the system pertaining to late Yin and early Chou.¹⁾ This governing system continued to exist

¹⁾ This is also supported by the fact that only very few of the hundreds of titles in the free texts cannot be identified with the offices in the Chou Li. I have here excluded some such titles, which I have already dealt with in this article, as well as those without any bearing on the Chou Li, as in the authentic part of the Shu King and in the Shang Kün Shu and those in the systematizing parts of the texts. The following titles are without counterparts in the Chou Li, viz.:

<i>Cheng167 jen9</i>	— S h ĩ p. 139. Cheng-bell men in the army.
<i>Ch’i:64 tsiet118 wei-41</i>	— C h a n k. 25 p. 24. Unknown charge in Wei-194.
<i>Chu:3 shu73</i>	— L ũ p. 249. Unknown charge in Wei-194.
<i>Fu:159</i>	— T s o I:409. Legal officer in Wei-144.

in a more or less modified form up to 221 B. C., when it was abolished and replaced by a centralized government system, created by Ts'in Shī Huang Ti but based, partly at least, on the governing system already existing in the state of Ts'in (cf. the Ts'in hierarchy system as recorded in the free texts; p. 58):

"The centralized government was created through the adoption of the chün-hsien (*Kün-163 hien-120*) (province and county) system. This system placed the territory of the entire Empire directly under the control of the central government and did away with the local autonomy which marked the feudal fiefs of Chou time. The greater extent of centralization achieved by the state of Ch'in was instrumental to its unification of China." (Wang Yü-Ch'üan, *An outline of the central government of the Former Han dynasty*, HJAS 12:1—2 p. 134 note 1.)

The Ts'in dynasty was, however, short-lived, and already in 202 B. C. a new dynasty, the Former Han dynasty, was established, which

"... reversed and substantially modified many of the important political institutions of Ch'in; it abandoned centralized control over the Empire and revived the political feudalism of the Chou dynasty." (Op. cit. p. 135.) ... "Officialdom in the Empire was divided hierarchically into twenty ranks ... Each individual was assigned a rank, which determined his status in the official world, his salary, the type of clothes he wore and carriage he used, the privileges accorded him ... (Op. cit. p. 137.)

To some extent the Former Han dynasty preserved some of the governmental institutions of the Chou dynasty or, as Wang Yü-Ch'üan states:

"As shown by the titles of the Imperial ministers ... and their primary functions, the Imperial cabinet of the Former Han was the direct descendant of the court of the Chou kings. Its personnel was that of a large household. As China developed from a kingdom into an empire and the administrative work multiplied many times, the empire builders did not devise a new administrative organization but retained the form of the old royal court and allocated new functions to the original offices." (Op. cit. p. 143.)

Fuk60 t'ao;170
K'u-53 jen9

— Tso II:545. Unknown charge in Ts'in.

— Tso III:287. Officers connected with magazines or arsenals in Cheng.

Ling-9 cheng-77

— Tso II:453. Unknown charge in Cheng.

Si30 shang30

— Kuo k. 1,9b. Unknown charge recorded for Royal Chou.

Si30 shi-6

— Kuo k. 1,7a. Agricultural (?) officer in Royal Chou.

Tso-32

— Tso I:409. Legal officer in Wei-144.

Teung40 si;113

— Sün k. 12 p. 15. Sacrificer in the ancestral temple (?).

ABBREVIATIONS

BEFEO	= Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Saigon.
BMFEA	= Bulletin of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.
Chan	= Chan Kuo Ts'e; quoted after Kuo Hüe Ki Pen Ts'ung Shu: Chan Kuo Ts'e, Shanghai 1937.
Cheng	= Cheng Hsüan, Han-commentator; quoted after Shī San King Chu Su, Shanghai 1912.
Chou	= Chou Li; quoted after Biot, E., <i>Le Tchou Li I—II</i> , Paris 1851; cf. Sun Yi-Jang, <i>Chou Li Cheng Yi I—IV</i> , Shanghai 1934 (Kuo Hüe Ki Pen Ts'ung Shu).
Chu	= Chu Shu Ki Nien; quoted after Hai Ning Wang Chung K'ue Kung Yi Shu San Tsi: Ku Pen Chu Shu Ki Nien Tsi Kiao, 1928.
Chuang	= Chuang Tsi; quoted after San Shī Liu Tsi Ts'üan Shu: Chuang Tsi, Shanghai-Peking 1919.
Ch'un	= Ch'un Ts'iu; quoted after Couvreur, S., <i>Tch'ouen Ts'iou et Tso Tchouan I—III</i> , Ho Kien Fou 1914.
Han	= Han Fei Tsi; quoted after Kuo Hüe Ki Pen Ts'ung Shu: Han Fei Tsi Tsi Kie, Shanghai 1933.
HJAS	= Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies.
INDEX	= Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series, Supplement, No. 11 I—IV, 1937.
Kuan	= Kuan Tsi; quoted after Kuan Tsi T'ung Shī, Shanghai 1924.
Kuo	= Kuo Yü; quoted after Si Pu Pei Yao: Kuo Yü, Shanghai 1922.
Li	= Li Ki; quoted after Couvreur, S. <i>Li Ki I—II</i> , Ho Kien Fou 1913.
Lie	= Lie Tsi; quoted after Wilhelm, R., <i>Liä Dsi</i> , Jena 1911; cf. San Shī Liu Tsi Ts'üan Shu: Lie Tsi, Shanghai-Peking 1919.
Lun	= Lun Yü; quoted after Legge, J., <i>Confucian Analects</i> , in <i>Chinese Classics I</i> , Oxford 1893.
Lü	= Lü Shī Ch'un Ts'iu; quoted after Wilhelm, R., <i>Frühling und Herbst des Lü Bu We</i> , Jena 1928; cf. Lü Shī Ch'un Ts'iu, Shanghai 1929 (Sao Ye Shan Fang ed.).
Meng	= Meng Tsi; quoted after Legge, J., <i>The Works of Mencius</i> , in <i>Chinese Classics II</i> , Oxford 1895.
Mo	= Mo Tsi; quoted after Harvard-Yenching Institute Sinological Index Series: Supplement No. 21: <i>A Concordance to Mo Tzu</i> , 1948.
Shang Kün	= Shang Kün Shu; quoted after Duyvendak, J. J. L., <i>The Book of Lord Shang</i> , London 1928; cf. San Shī Liu Tsi Ts'üan Shu: Shang Kün Shu, Shanghai-Peking 1919.
Shī	= Shī King; quoted after Karlgren, B., <i>The Book of Odes</i> , Stockholm 1950.
Shu	= Shu King, the authentic chapters; quoted after Karlgren, B., <i>The Book of Documents</i> , BMFEA 22, Stockholm 1950.
Sün	= Sün Tsi; quoted after Sün Tsi Tsi Kie, Shanghai 1925.
Ta Tai	= Ta Tai Li Ki; quoted after Ta Tai Li Ki Kie Ku, 1887 (Kuang Ya ed.).
Tao	= Tao Chuan; quoted after Couvreur, S. <i>Tch'ouen Ts'iou et Tso Tchouan I—III</i> , Ho Kien Fou 1914.
Tu	= Tu Yü, commentator, 3rd c. A. D.; quoted after Shī San King Chu Su, Shanghai 1912.
Wei	= Wei Chao, commentator, 3rd c. A. D.; quoted after Si Pu Pei Yao: Kuo Yü, Shanghai 1922.
Yen	= Yen Tsi Ch'un Ts'iu; quoted after San Shī Liu Tsi Ts'üan Shu: Yen Tsi Ch'un Ts'iu, Shanghai-Peking 1919.
Yi	= Yi Chou Shu; quoted after Huang Ts'ing King Kie Sū Pien: Yi Chou Shu Tsi Hün Kiao Shī.

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— — *Liä Dsi*, Jena 1911.

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Corrections: 297 旅 賁氏; 680 駿

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES ON SOME BRONZES

BY

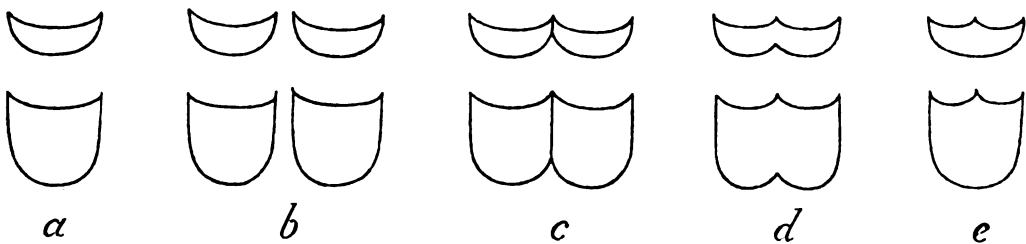
BERNHARD KARLGREN

I

In an article entitled "New Bronzes in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities" (Bulletin 24, 1952), I added, as a postscript, a lengthy chapter on the *scale* as décor motif in the ancient bronze art of the Yin. It was shown how, from the function it performs on the bodies of fishes, snakes and dragons, the scale has been carried over to various other animals on which it has no real natural reason for existing: birds have scales instead of feathers or at least single scales on the neck, elephants have scales all over the body or at least on the trunk, T'aot'ie heads have them on the horns, on the cheek, on the nose, and so on (see the 60 illustrations given in the said paper). The conclusion there given was as follows:

"Just as the clichés "C-hooked quill" etc. are short-forms for "dragon" and as such, by an accumulation of "dragon" elements, enhance the magical dragon power of the vessel, so the *scales* which crop up on birds' necks, on elephants' trunks, on T'aot'ie noses and cheeks stand as abbreviations for "snake" or "snake-dragon" and thus add to the magical force of the principal animal represented".

On p. 19 of the paper quoted a survey was given of the variations in shape of the scale. We shall recapitulate here a few types only which are of interest for the study below:



It will at once be observed that a juxtaposition of two scales of type a, as in type b, easily gave rise to type c, which again was simplified into type d, and finally into type e. We give here just a few additional examples:

Figs. 1, 2. These two birds¹⁾ both have snakes applied as forming part of their

¹⁾ One (No. 1) in the Art Institute of Chicago, see Kelley and Ch'en, Chinese Bronzes from the Buckingham Collection, Pl. XIII, and the other (No. 2) in the Yale University Museum, see S. Mizuno, Bronzes and Jades of Ancient China, Pl. 72.

bodies. In each case the snake has two parallel lines of simple scales of the type a. But on the neck of the Chicago bird the coalescence of the scale pairs has already been achieved, and on the Yale bird there is even a collar with scales of the farthest advanced type e.

Fig. 3. This beautiful dragon (Ernest Erickson collection) has its body covered with fine d-type scales.

Fig. 4. We find them inverted on the nose of a T'aot'ie head (Hardt collection).

Fig. 5. In exactly the same position there are scales of the advanced type e on a similar T'aot'ie head (owner unknown).

Fig. 6. The dragon body on this bone head (owner unknown) has a row of e-type scales.

Fig. 7. Finely embellished, the scale pattern appears on a coiled snake on the lid of a Ch'i in the MFEA (K. 11450).

The scale motif gained favour. Far from being obsolete with the end of the Archaic (Yin and Early Chou) style, it became one of the fundamental motifs in the Middle Chou style, being there often detached from the representations of animals and applied in consecutive rows in décor bands or belts, or arranged as vertically hanging scales. In this rôle it is ubiquitous in the Middle Chou style, not only on ritual vessels but also on secular objects:

Fig. 8. Kuei lid (Thomas Fearnley collection).

Fig. 9. Bit plaque (MFEA, K. 11276:93).

The end of the Middle Chou style did not witness the disappearance of the scale motif. We find it fully alive in the Huai style:

Fig. 10. Dragon body on lance finial (British Museum).

Fig. 11. Dragon body on a dress hook (MFEA, K. 10598).

Figs. 12, 13. Bodies of two large wooden tigers, painted in red, white and black, from Ch'ang-sha (MFEA, K. 12313, length 50 cm).

Not even here was the end of its career. It survived in the Han dynasty:

Fig. 14. In a curiously embellished form we find the scale of type c on Han mirrors from the 1st century B.C. (H.M. the King's collection).

Fig. 15. In this rôle it was sometimes transformed into some kind of flower (Calmann collection).

The special theme of the present note, however, is the use of the scale of type d in a peculiar, modified variant.

Fig. 16. On this animal's head (Archaic period) we find at the top the regular scale of type d. but below it two scales curiously twisted: in the regular type both ends point upwards, but here one of them points downwards. The important fact here is that both figures occur together in one décor scheme, evidently considered to be merely two variants of one and the same thing, the scale motif. This is by no means an isolated case:

Fig. 17. This figure (earlier C.T. Loo collection), likewise an early specimen, offers exactly the same peculiarity: above, an ordinary scale of type d, and below, a twisted scale of exactly the same kind as on the preceding specimen.

Fig. 18. Again, on the well-known bronze mask in the Art Institute of Chicago (Op. cit. Pl. I) we find the same twisted variants, flanking two scales with the ends pointing upwards in the regular way; here, however, the latter are irregular in that the central protruding point is at the bottom instead of at the top.

From these remarkable instances of twisted scales we pass on to the famous Middle Chou bronze tigers in the Freer Gallery:

Fig. 19. It is at once seen that the long figures which decorate the central body, the neck, the tail and the legs are no less than our twisted scales in a drawn-out execution. Observe that on the face of the tiger there is a figure in open-work which closely resembles the regular scale of type d. That the "twisted scales" have been drawn out into these long stripes is quite natural: they have to represent the stripes on the tiger's body. But the fact that these particular stripes are still variants of the twisted scales is betrayed by the protruding sharp points in the middle, which reveal that the whole figure is fundamentally identical with the one studied in figs. 16—18 above.

The Freer tigers are very large. In a smaller size we find exactly the same motif on two tigers in our museum:

Fig. 20. MFEA, K. 14519 and 14520, length 8.3 and 8.6 cm.

Fig. 21. Quite similar, with the same elongated, twisted scales as body décor, are the two tigers which form part of an appliqué in the former Oppenheim collection.

Fig. 22. Less elaborate but unmistakably the same motif we find on a pair of tigers in the former C. T. Loo collection.

Fig. 23. If we now turn to an animal (hog?) in the Brundage collection, we find a very telling combination: the regular scales of type d covering the whole body but the drawn-out twisted scales on the head — the identity in theme, in spite of the variation in execution, is here evident, just as we found the identity attested in figs. 16—18 above.

Fig. 24. This combination of two variants on the same specimen is of paramount importance in the next instance, the jade animal in the Mrs. C. R. Holmes collection. We find here on the one hand a row of regular d-type scales on the shoulder and rump, on the other hand a row of figures on the trunk which, compared with the shapes in figs. 16—23 just examined, turn out to be the drawn-out twisted scales severed into two parts.

Fig. 25. Finally, this bronze buffalo (formerly in the C. T. Loo collection — there are several specimens like this in some Western collections) shows incised lines all over the body which clearly reveal that they are simplified variants of the twisted scale shape.

In short, the part played by the scale motif in the early Chinese art is even larger and more important than it would seem to be if judged only from the variants that are easily recognizable. In the distorted forms studied in figs. 16—25 it flourishes not only in Yin art but also in Middle Chou and Huai-style art. Some of these forms

are so deteriorated that probably the artists no longer had any idea of their identity with the powerful magical scale of the Archaic art — they had become mere conventional symbols.

II

Dr. N. D. T. Wessén has recently added to his fine collection (cf. BMFEA No. 30, 1958) a bronze mirror of unusual interest.

Figs. 26, 27. We publish here two photographs of it, so as to bring out all the details in different light.

Figs. 28—30. For comparison we give three mirrors belonging to the MFEA: The first (fig. 28, diameter 18 cm., K. 11289) is dated, through its inscription, to the Wang Mang period (A.D. 9—22), the second (fig. 29, diam. 18.3 cm., K. 11035: 53) and the third (fig. 30, diam. 18.8 cm, K. 11034: 100) are closely akin to the first and date in the 1st century A.D.

Wang Mang mirrors with TLV and patterned outer border like the one quoted are known in great numbers, for instance: Siao kiao king ko kin wen, k. 16 (15 specimens); S. Umehara, *Shina Kodō Seikwa* IV, Pl. 61; R. Swallow, *Ancient Chinese Bronze Mirrors*, p. 12; S. Umehara, *Tōkwaan kokyō zuroku* Pls. 11—13; Lo Chen-yü, *Ku king t'u lu, chung* pp. 23, 24; BMFEA 13, Pl. 79 (two specimens). There is thus a comprehensive material of TLV mirrors datable in the very beginning of our era, and on the basis of this material a great many other analogous TLV mirrors can be dated fairly closely.

It is easily recognized that the Wessén mirror belongs to the same category: there is the central square with quatrefoil leaves; the TLV décor (called by the Chinese *kuei-kü* “compasses and square” pattern); the principal surface filled with elegant figures in thin thread relief showing varying combinations of magical animals; an inner border with saw-tooth filling, an outer border with a patterned décor.

On the Wessén mirror we recognize the four magical animals of the quadrant, often studied earlier on mirrors of this class: in the bottom quadrant of our photograph there is, to the right, the Sombre Warrior of the North (a tortoise in the coils of a snake), and, balancing this to the left, an animal with the tail lifted high; in the left quadrant there is, to the right, the Green Dragon of the East, with head turned backwards, and, balancing this to the left, a kneeling Hien (immortal); in the top quadrant there is, to the right, the Red Bird of the South, with two well-drawn wings and turned-back head with two crests, and, balancing this to the left, a bird with a human head; and finally in the right quadrant there is, to the right, the White Tiger of the West, with turned-back head and open mouth, and, balancing it to the left, a running deer with nose raised high and a beautiful horn crown. All the figures are exquisitely drawn and the handicraft is of the highest class.

There is an inscription which runs:

Yung-ho yüan nien cheng yüe ping tsī Li Kü tsao yi kün wang yung ch'u yung.

“[The period] Yung-ho, the 1st year, the 1st month, the day ping-tsī [i.e. 13th of the cycle] made by Li Kü; it is suitable for princes and kings; may they forever bring it out and use it.”

This inscription raises quite a problem. The early TLV class just mentioned often has the name of the artisan given in the inscription, but then always in this formulation: *Lung shī tso king* "Mr. Lung has made the mirror", *Ts'ing Kai tso king* "Ts'ing Kai has made the mirror", etc. Here we have: *Li Kū tsao* "made by (or: on the command of?) Li Kū".

Furthermore the ductus of the script is worth considering. It is still the Han-time script, but the characters have a slightly more advanced, more elegant and soft shape than the stiff graphs in the Wang Mang inscriptions and their contemporary products. It is indeed quite identical with the ductus of the script on a splendid Han mirror excavated in Korea by the Japanese scholars.¹⁾ In the words "Yung-ho 1st year" it would seem that we have a good clue to dating the mirror. Still, the problem is not quite simple.

The era-name Yung-ho occurs four times in the official histories, the "1st years" being:

A.D. 136 (Han: Shun ti);

A.D. 345 (Tsin: Mu ti);

A.D. 416 (Hou Ts'in: Hou chu);

A.D. 433 (Pei Liang: Ai wang).

Only the first two of these had a day *ping-tsi* in the 1st month. The second of them, A.D. 345, is not reconcilable with the type of the mirror. We know fairly well, through many safe specimens, the types of mirrors characteristic of the 4th century. S. Umehara, in his *Kan Sankoku Rokuchō kinen kyō zusetzu*, gives four specimens (dates: 337, 366, 366, 370). And from the 3rd century we know many dated mirrors. In Lo Chen-yü's *Ku king t'u lu* there are, for instance, 20 specimens (dates: 205, 219, 227, 238, 253, 256, 259, 273, 280, 281). The décor on all these specimens from the 3rd and 4th centuries is entirely different from that on the Wang Mang mirrors and their contemporaries, and likewise from that on the Wes-sén mirror, which on essential points agrees with the latter.

There is, however, the signature Li Kū to be considered — can that contribute to the dating? I know of two Li Kū in the histories.

On the one hand, Si-ma Kuang's famous *Tsī chī t'ung kien* under the year Hien-k'ang 5, i.e. A.D. 339, records that in the independent kingdom in the North called Hou Chao, its ruler Shī Hu made a certain Li Kū (the same characters as in our inscription) *yü-shī chung-ch'eng*, i.e. practically premier, and this Li Kū was a forceful and ruthless man who was greatly feared. At first sight it might be tempting to combine this with the date on the mirror and to conjecture that the mirror was made in A.D. 345, evidently not by the dignitary Li Kū himself but on his command. But this will not do, for the Chao kingdom was a bitter foe of the Imperial Tsin: Yung-ho was an era-name of the Tsin dynasty, and Li Kū would never have used the Tsin term Yung-ho; it might have been possible in the very first years of the Hou Chao realm, before the political situation was stabilized, but not a decade later: he would have written Kien-wu, 11th year. To write Yung-ho in the year 345 in the Chao realm would have been equal to high treason.

¹⁾ Archaeological Report on the Ancient Lo-lang District, 1925, Pl. 89.

On the other hand, there was a dignitary Li Kü (the same characters as in our inscription) who was a favourite of the great Emperor Hsuan-tsung (Ming-huang) in middle T'ang time (8th century). Could the mirror have been made on the command of this Li Kü? If so, since it has a typical Han-time décor, widely different from that used on T'ang-time mirrors, it would be a conscious attempt on the part of this Li Kü to create an art object in an archaic style, imitating some Han mirrors known to the T'ang-time men. In the T'ang dynasty there was no era Yung-ho, and it is difficult to see why Li Kü, if he openly gives his own name, would insert an ancient era-name, Yung-ho. But it might be objected that this was a part of his archaizing fad.

This all raises an interesting question. Professor Cheng Te-k'un, in his *Archaeological Studies in Sze-ch'uan* (1957) has published a mirror which we reproduce here (Fig. 31). The décor is typical early Huai-style (4th century B.C., see B. Karlgren in *BMFEA* 13, 1941); but on the quatrefoil leaves there stands in clear letters, Kuang-cheng yüan nien "1st year Kuang-cheng", which is equal to A.D. 938. Cheng (p. 170) artlessly takes this to be "evidence for the survival of the comma pattern on post-Han mirrors", which is indeed an impossible conclusion. We know by now from various publications and collections an overwhelming material of mirrors from Eastern Han, the Three Kingdoms, the Six Dynasties, Sui, T'ang, the Five Dynasties (A.D. 22—960), with a long series of different décor types, and nowhere do we find the comma pattern, such as that which characterized the Huai style. When the Japanese archaeologists in their excavations in Korea of Han-time sites found a large number of typical Han mirrors but among them also one single fragmentary mirror of Huai type, with comma pattern¹), the extreme rarity of such a find clearly indicates that the said mirror had become a keepsake made centuries before being buried in Korea. It is obvious that a specimen buried in a grave from A.D. 10 was not necessarily cast in A.D. 10 — its burial in a datable grave gives a date *ante quem*, not a date *in quo*.

Quite different is the case of the Kuang-cheng mirror — here the exact date of the casting is imprinted on the specimen itself. When on the whole we know of no comma pattern on mirrors from the 1st century of our era to the 10th, we must conclude, not with Cheng Te-k'un that this specimen shows "the survival of the comma pattern on post-Han mirrors", but that the specimen is an *unmistakably archaizing art product*. And there is nothing surprising in this. The simple mirror type in early Huai style which has been the prototype imitated by the Kuang-cheng artist was quite common²) and there is nothing astonishing in its cropping up in the 10th century from some grave, treasured as a "curio" and imitated by the Kuang-cheng artist in A.D. 938. It should be remembered that this was not long before an epoch characterized by an intense archaeological interest: the great author Ou-yang Siu (d. 1072) wrote his famous *Tsi ku lu* "Record of collected anti-

¹) *Archaeological Report on the Ancient Lo-lang District*, 1925, pl. 241.

²) *BMFEA* 13, Pl. 11; W. P. Yetts, *The Cull Chinese Bronzes* Pl. XXIII, and many other instances in Western collections.

quities"; in 1092 Lü Ta-lin published his K'ao ku t'u; and these pioneer works were followed by a flow of archaeological literature.

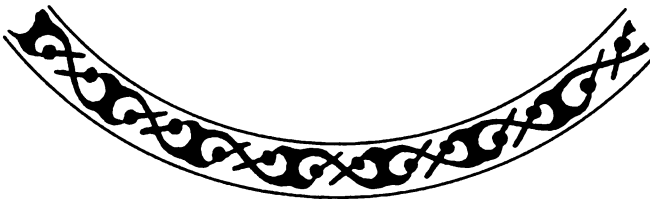
The question is now this: could the Wessén mirror in a similar way be the work of an artist who imitated some Han mirror of the TLV class with patterned outer border and inscribed it with an imagined date "Yung-ho 1st year" and the name of Emperor Hsuan-tsung's favourite Li Kü, who might have ordered the mirror to be made? There are several arguments against such a theory.

In the first place, an archaizing artist in T'ang time could hardly have achieved an imitation of such high quality, such perfect workmanship as that in the animals on this mirror.

Secondly, there is the décor scheme of the principal field. The theme of the four magical animals, whether accompanied or not by other fanciful animals, is exceedingly common on Han-time mirrors. Besides the instances already mentioned above as being dated in Wang Mang time, there are scores of Han TLV mirrors with the four magical animals in various books and in many public and private collections. Besides the two examples given here (Figs. 28, 29) see, for instance, S. Umehara, *Shina Kodō Seikwa* IV, Pls. 58—68, Freer Catalogue Pl. 38, Hansford, Seligman Catalogue Pl. 33. But if the *theme* is the same — the four magical animals — its execution varies considerably, and there is a rich variety in the representations of this motif on the mirrors. The point that is important to us here is precisely this: a scrutiny of more than a hundred Han mirrors with the four magical animals has shown me that whereas many of them are fairly similar to the Wessén mirror, yet in their representation of the animals there was not a single one that agreed completely with it; and yet the latter is by no means a poor epigonous specimen but an exquisite work of art in the best style of Han-time décor.

In the third place, the TLV mirrors are almost invariably provided with studs ("nipples") varying in number; see, for instance, our Figs. 28—30. Among the great number of specimens examined by me there are only some very rare cases that lack such studs. In particular the TLV mirrors with a patterned outer border nearly always have the studs, those without them being in fact quite exceptional. We illustrate one of them (Fig. 32, after Umehara, *Seikwa* IV, Pl. 59, Freer Gallery of Art), another is also given by Umehara (*ibid.* Pl. 58, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). The Wessén mirror agrees with the latter two in the absence of studs.

In the fourth place we have to examine the patterned outer border. There is a very great variety in the décor patterns in the border on the Eastern Han mirrors, when they do not simply have a saw-tooth filling. Here again, our mirror offers an interesting point. The décor in its outer border is this:



Among the scores of Han mirrors with a patterned outer border I have not found a single one with this motif. And yet it is a well-known element in the mirror décor of the Han, though in another position: in the border round the central knob. Our Fig. 33 gives a good example (H. M. the King's collection); another (Fig. 34) is a rubbing in *Siao kiao king ko kin wen*, *küan* 16:25 b; other instances *ibid.* k. 16:25, 55, 56, *Lo Chen-yü*, *Ku king t'u lu*, *chung* 10, *Umehara Seikwa* IV, Pl. 70.

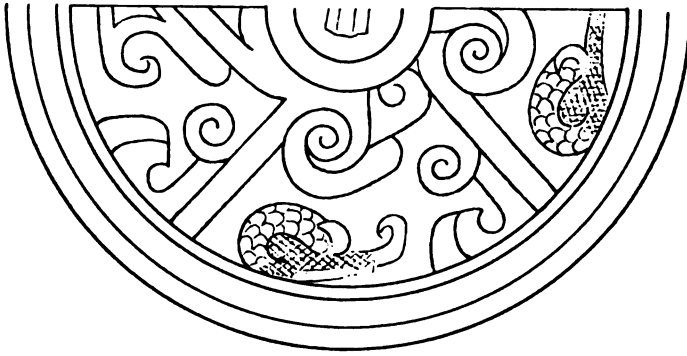
The conclusion to be drawn from these various phenomena is evident. If an artist in T'ang time (on the command of the dignitary Li Kü) had made an archaizing mirror after the model of some Han mirrors known in T'ang time, there are exceedingly slight chances that he could have had access to a prototype with the said exceptional characteristics. On the other hand, he did not invent them, for the border design on the Wessén mirror, though unknown on outer borders in early Han time, was after all a true and genuine Han motif, though rare and belonging to the mirror's centre, when employed. He would have been a remarkable artist indeed if he could work with a combination of rare features (an aberrant formulation of the signature, the particular treatment of the animals, the lack of studs, the unusual placing of the interlacery design) and yet at the same time create a specimen of exquisite quality, quite on a par with the best TLV mirrors of the 1st century.

Let us conclude that the Li Kü of our mirror cannot be identified with either of the two Li Kü of the official histories. After all, Li was already in Han time a common surname. A "Samuel Johnson" need not necessarily be identical with the famous doctor.

The date of the Wessén mirror is now certain: A.D. 136, the Yung-ho yüan nien of the Han emperor Shun-ti. It is highly interesting to observe that such fine TLV mirrors continued to be made a full century after the Wang Mang period. Yet our specimen tells us that they had not remained entirely untouched by time: the smooth ductus of the script, the formulation of the signature, the lack of studs, the removal of the interlacery design from the central field to the outer border, those are so many indications of an advance, betraying that the lapse of a century had after all somewhat modified the orthodox type of the TLV mirror.

III

The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities recently acquired a mirror of a very rare type: Fig. 35 (diam. 9.5 cm, K. 11495). In the voluminous literature on Chinese mirrors I have only found four other specimens belonging to this category. One was published by R. Swallow (*Ancient Chinese Bronze Mirrors* No. 456) but the photograph was poor and we reproduce a better one here (Fig. 36). This mirror belongs to the Lambert collection, Brussels, and is considerably larger (diam. 12 cm). The second one, in the Moriya collection, was published by S. Umehara in his *Kan izen no kokyō no kenkyū* Pl. 3 (and, after that, in *BMFEA* 13, Pl. 8). This



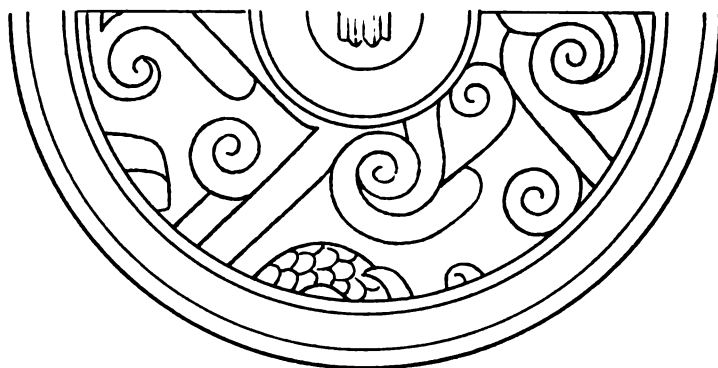
A

mirror is so badly incrustated that it cannot serve for the analysis of the décor. The third was excavated near Ch'ang-sha, and it was published in *Ch'u wen wu chan lan t'u lu*, 1954, p. 35. It accords with the preceding ones except for a square middle frame, provided with quatrefoil leaves. The fourth, excavated in a tomb in the neighbourhood of Ch'eng-tu in Sī-ch'uan, together with various artifacts all clearly pre-Han, was published in *K'ao ku hūe pao* 1956, No. 4. It was badly broken but a good reconstruction of its décor is given in the said article; it agrees closely with that of our mirror in the MFEA. The latter is superior in that it is entirely free from incrustations and in perfect condition, showing the décor in all its details.

On a casual inspection the two mirrors illustrated here appear to be practically identical in design, but a closer examination shows that they are quite dissimilar.

If we start with the analysis of the Lambert mirror, it turns out that the décor consists of two halves, not really fitting together, thus, it would seem, having been imprinted by stamps. Our drawing text-fig. A shows the pattern of one of these halves. At the bottom and to the right there are small animal shapes: dragons or snakes with curled-up tail? In the left third there is no animal but some drawn-out thin lines at the upper border, which evidently form part of a larger figure, most of which has fallen outside the décor field and is thus invisible; the descending stem ends in a turned-up hook to the left, part of which is likewise left outside the décor field. The Lambert mirror is perfectly symmetrical in so far that the other half offers exactly the same décor configuration, though, as already stated, it does not fit in with its counterpart, the dividing line breaking up the context of the pattern. From the rubbing of the Moriya mirror given by Umehara (*loc. cit.*) it would seem that it is exactly similar to the Lambert piece.

If, on the other hand, we turn to the MFEA specimen, we find a much more complicated structure. Like the preceding, it has its décor divided into two halves meeting at the middle line without really fitting together. But a curious phenomenon is that the two parts are *not* alike, the mirror thus being quite asymmetrical. Our textfigs. B and C show the pattern in each half. In both halves, the left thirds are alike and exactly similar to that of the Lambert mirror. The middle part is likewise

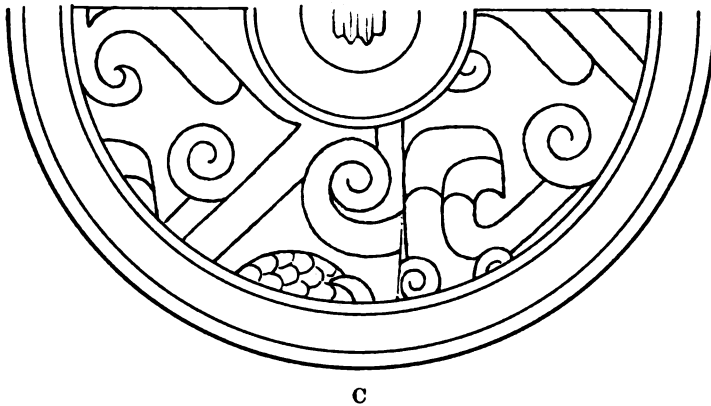


B

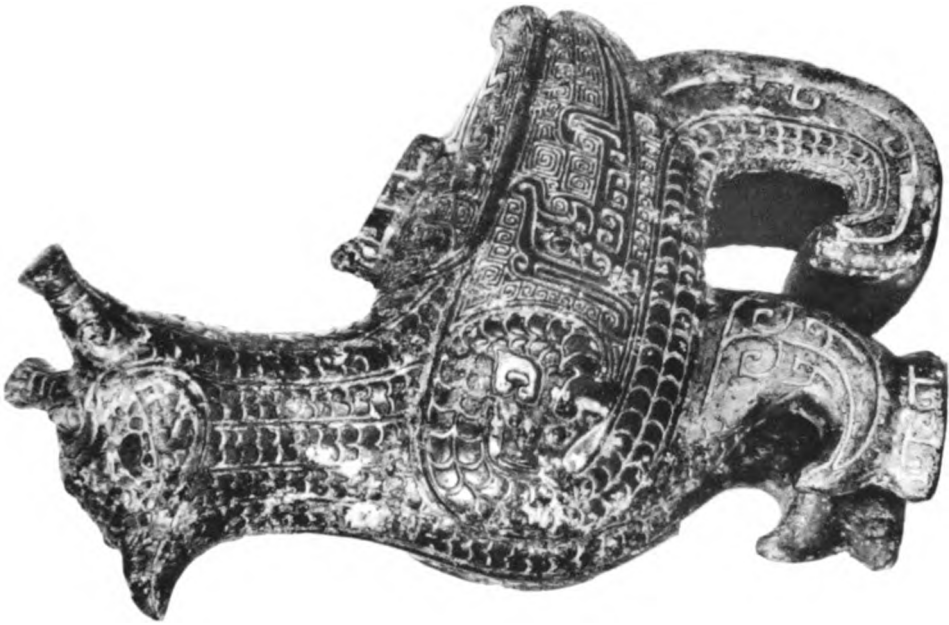
similar in both halves and constitutes a slightly reduced version of the corresponding part on the Lambert mirror (this being larger, as already stated). But the right part does not at all coincide with the latter, and, moreover, shows a large, wing-like figure in one of the halves, but a much simpler figure in the other half.

The facts that, on the one hand, the antithetical parts of our mirror are not really alike and the décor is thus quite asymmetrical, and, on the other hand, that the décor has been so to speak cut out from a larger scheme, leaving only suggestive remnants at some borders, are highly interesting and a testimony to a high age. In Han time and onwards such an arrangement would be inconceivable. Already in Huai time we find in ninety nine cases out of a hundred that the décor of a mirror forms a consistent whole, directly composed for the round surface and contained quite complete within the limits of this circular field. But there are certain exceptions in early Huai. To a certain extent we find a parallel in the mirror in our Fig. 37 (H.M. the King's collection), in which the décor is likewise divided into two halves, inorganically fitted together (each with a stylized T'aot'ie): at the two sides there appear claws belonging to some unseen leg which falls outside the décor field. But this specimen is, at least, just as symmetrical with its two halves as the Lambert mirror, and I know of no counterpart to the extreme asymmetry on our MFEA specimen.

The date of the mirror must be quite early. In BMFEA 13, I suggested, for the Moriya mirror, the 6th or 5th century B.C. Our mirror here fully confirms this dating. The technique in forming the broad-banded comma pattern and the bottom filling with elegant multilinear spirals and slanting lines connects up quite definitely with a fragment of a bronze vessel (Fig. 38, MFEA K. 11000: 397; cf. two kindred fragments in S. Umehara, *Etude des Bronzes des Royaumes Combattants* 1936, Pl. 109) which manifestly belongs to the high Huai style. For comparison with the small snakes (?) on the Lambert mirror right in the middle of the extremely dissolved figures of the décor, and with the rudiments of such snakes on our MFEA mirror, observe, on the vessel fragment, the leg with pinching claws appearing quite disconnectedly in the décor scheme.



The method of using as décor a section only from a larger continuous pattern, so that the figures that happened to be placed at the margin of this section become truncated, is typical Huai. On the large Huai bell in the MFEA (Fig. 39) the top surface offers a good example. We give a rubbing of one half of it (Fig. 40). Here we find, in the upper line, two complete dragons and a rudimentary one to the right; in the middle line two complete dragons (heads turned downwards); and in the bottom line, two dragons both more or less truncated, parts of their bodies falling outside the circular décor field.



1



2



3



4



5





11



8



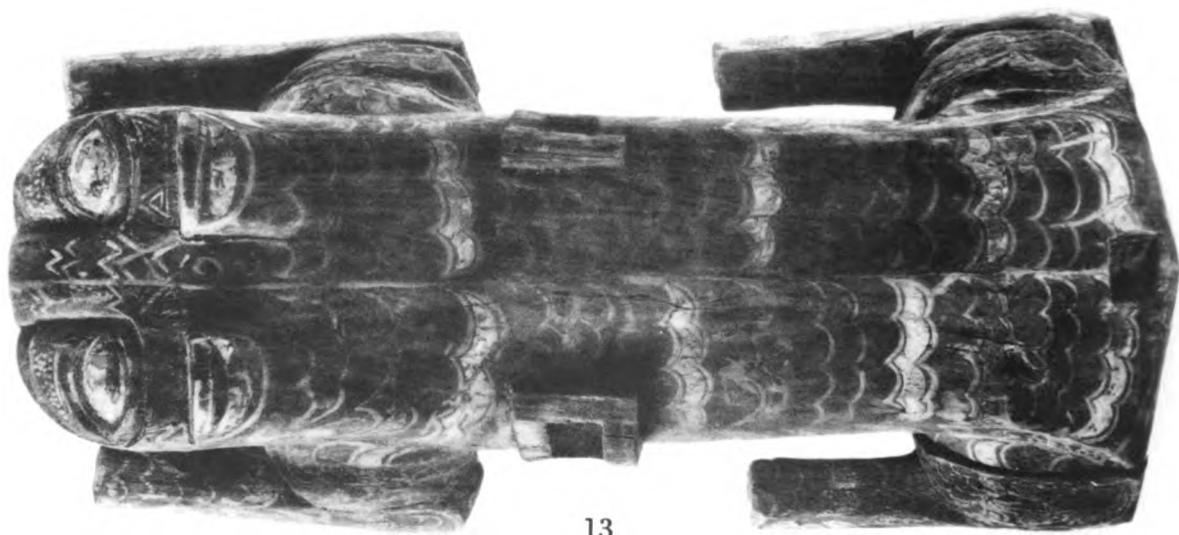
10



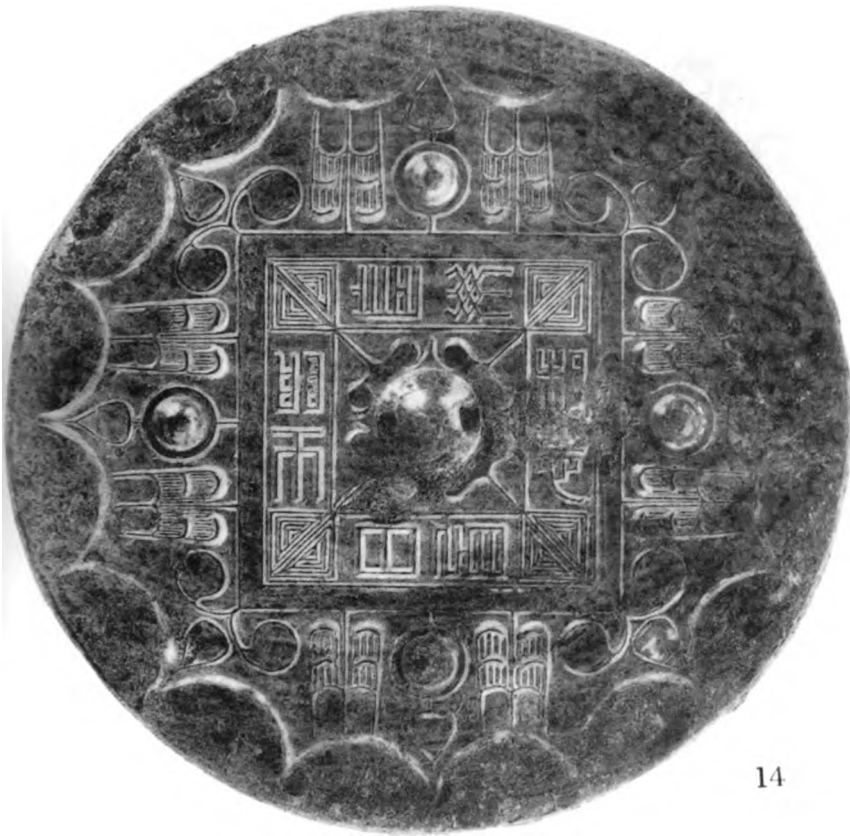
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12



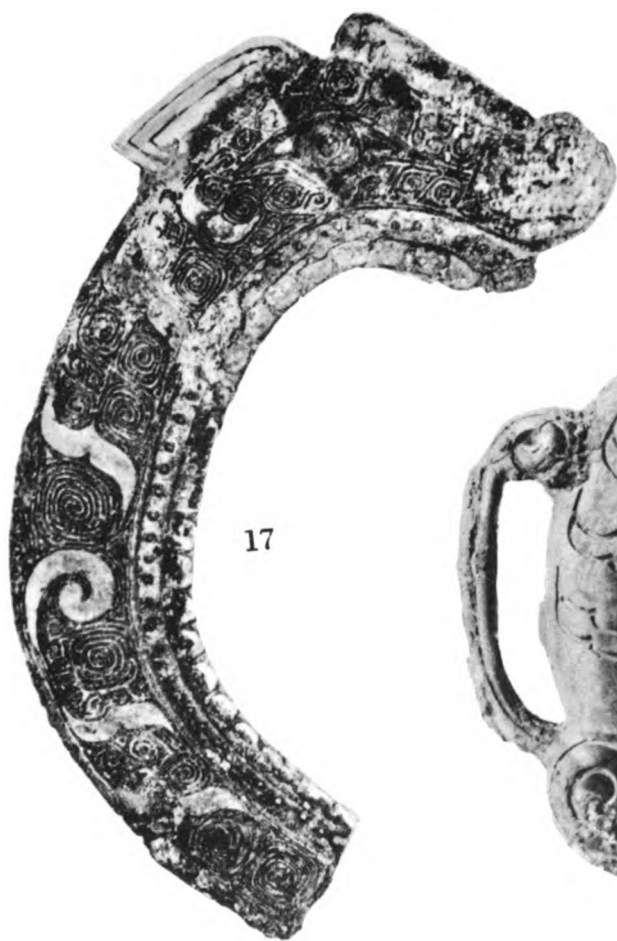
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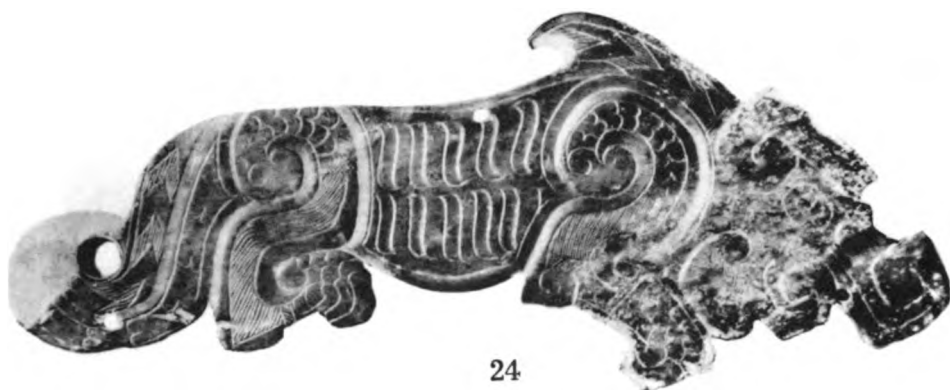
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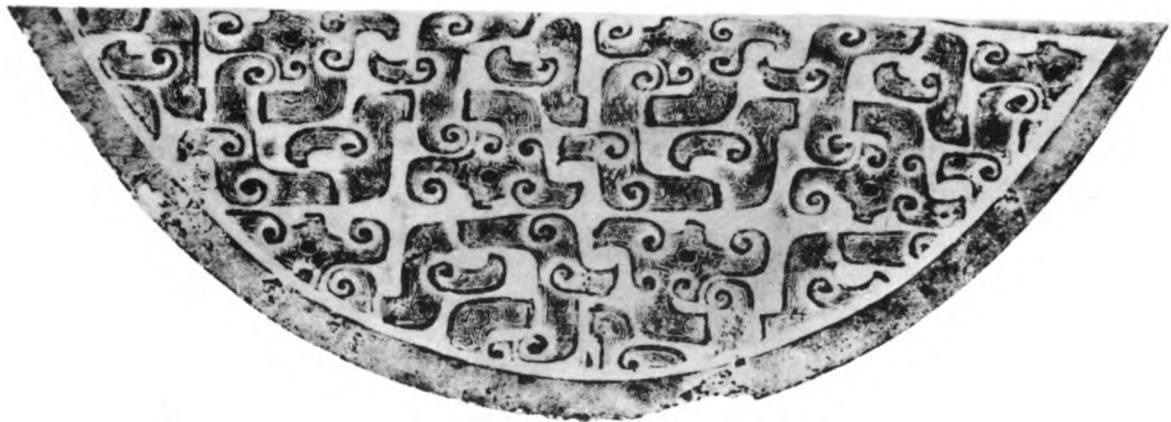
36



38



37



40



SOME ASPECTS OF THE TECHNICAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE MANUFACTURE OF THE CHINESE POTTERY WARES OF PRE-MING AGE

BY

NILS SUNDIUS

PREFACE

The present paper is a study of the development and constitution of the body and the glaze of the pre-Ming ceramics in China. This side of Chinese pottery has hitherto attracted relatively little interest. Perhaps the most striking result of a study of this kind is the great difference in working between the southern and the northern parts of the country. Another point of interest is the rigid conservatism of the Chinese potters, manifested by the use of the same unchanged kind of body during very long periods.

From Sung, and to a lesser extent from T'ang, considerable experience had been gained earlier from studies made by Prof. *W. Steger* and myself on samples from the rich collection of sherds brought together by the late *Dr. N. Palmgren*. This study was made at the request of Engineer *Hjalmar Olson*, the manager of *Aktiebolaget Gustavsbergs Fabriker*, Sweden, and at the expense of that firm. The results will shortly appear in *Dr. Palmgren's Report*.¹⁾ In order to make the study more complete, new and earlier specimens were required. Unfortunately sherds are, on the whole, rather scarce in the museums and only a restricted number were available. Those investigated were chiefly received from the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm.

My sincere thanks are due to Engineer *Hj. Olson* and to *Aktiebolaget Gustavsbergs Fabriker*, which latter has defrayed the costs of all preparations. I am also very grateful to Doc. *Bo Gyllensvärd*, director of The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, and to Dr. *Jan Wirgin*, assistant at the Museum, for their kind help in providing ceramic sherds. I have had good help from discussions with Dr. *Felix Tegengren* about some geological relations in China.

My best thanks are also due to Mrs. *Birgit Gelin*, Gustavsberg, and Mr. *A. Aaremäe* for their valuable assistance with most of the new analyses made for this paper, and also to the Preparators *K. E. Kallerborg* and *B. Wigström* for their skilful work in making the preparations of the ceramics.

Nils Sundius

The Swedish Museum of Nat. Hist., Mineral Dept. 1960

¹⁾ "The Sung sherds". This paper will be referred to hereafter as "The Report of Dr. Palmgren".

YANG SHAO

The culture bearing this name, first discovered by *J. G. Andersson* in Honan in 1921, is of neolithic, pre-Chinese age, about 2500—1500 B.C. Strictly speaking, its pottery should not fall within the scope of this survey, but being made within Chinese territory and having a wide distribution in its northern part, it may be briefly mentioned. Furthermore, the Yang Shao pottery is of high workmanship and its manufacture offers much of interest. The body has a red, buff or pure yellow colour and is generally thin (3—5 mm), even in large vessels, it has smooth surfaces, is often polished on the outer side and is painted in white, black and red or brown colours. Furthermore, the body is very dense. The sherds are rather hard but can be scratched with a knife.

Five sherds were studied in some detail, one yellow, one buff and one red, all from Kansu, and one red and one buff from Yang Shao Tsun in Honan. Apart from the different colours of the burnt clay the four last mentioned are all very similar when seen in slides¹⁾ in a microscope. The body contains some mica and a moderate amount of a fine sand (fig. 6), according to estimates in the slides about 20 % by volume. The sand is not visible to the naked eye; it is composed of quartz and a little felspar and has a grain of about 0.01 to 0.08 mm. Probably it is an added loess sand. Small fragments of flint, probably not added intentionally, occur in one of the buff sherds. In all sherds only sparse remnants of undispergated clay lumps are present, and the raw materials may have been well worked up and well mixed.

The yellow sherd differs from the others in having a smaller amount of sand, only about 7—8 % by volume. In the very finegrained groundmass of the sherd numerous quite small crystal grains are seen, and it is from these grains that the yellow colour of the sherd comes. Similar grains are also observable in the buff sherds, though in lesser amounts.

An X-ray film from powder of the red Kansu sherd shows lines of quartz, but no lines of mullite.

Two analyses made by the Austrian analyst *P. Meyersberg*, of a red and a buff sherd from Yang Shao Tsun, have been published by *T. J. Arne*²⁾ and are reproduced under 1 and 2 in table 1.

- 1 and 2. Red and buff Yang Shao sherds, anal. *P. Meyersberg*.
3. Red sherd from Yang Shao Tsun, anal. *Mrs. B. Gelin*.
4. Red sherd from Kansu, anal. *V. Grundulis* and *Mrs. B. Gelin*.
5. Buff sherd from Kansu, anal. *Mrs. B. Gelin*.
6. Yellow sherd from Kansu, anal. *Mrs. B. Gelin*.

¹⁾ When a ceramic is to be studied in a microscope, a so-called thin slide is prepared. A piece of the sample is cut off and the cut surface is ground smooth and mounted on a glass with the aid of Canada balsam. The piece is then ground from the other side down to a thickness of about 0.02 mm, after which it is covered with a glass, also with Canada balsam. The sheet then becomes translucent and permits of a study being made of the details in it.

²⁾ *Palaeontologia Sinica*. Peiping 1925.

Table 1

	1	2	3	4	5	6
SiO ₂	65.66	63.51	67.0	65.4	57.8	51.0
Al ₂ O ₃	15.64	21.58	14.8	16.7	14.5	14.9
Fe ₂ O ₃	18.30	12.16	8.8	7.9	8.1	8.8
TiO ₂			0.8	0.5	0.7	1.1
MnO			Tr.		Tr.	Tr.
MgO	0.75	1.56	1.3		2.9	4.0
CaO			1.6		9.2	15.1
K ₂ O			2.8	3.4 ²⁾	3.4	2.1
Na ₂ O			1.0	1.1	1.0	1.5
Loss on ign.	1.26	1.21	1.8		2.4	1.4
	101.87 ¹⁾	100.96 ²⁾	99.9		100.0	99.9

Unfortunately, the early analyses under 1 and 2 do not appear to be reliable, since the totals are high although the values of lime and alkalis are not determined. Therefore three new analyses were kindly made for me by Mrs. *Birgit Gelin*, Gustavsberg, of a red sherd from Yang Shao Tsun (3), a buff and a yellow sherd from Kansu (5 and 6). Some values, partly (SiO₂, Al₂O₃, Fe₂O₃) determined by Mrs. *V. Grundulis* at the Laboratory of the Swedish Geolog. Survey and partly (K₂O and Na₂O) by Mrs. *Gelin*, and referring to a red sherd from Kansu, are shown under 4. All analyses are made of sherds that had been studied microscopically.

The new analyses reveal some interesting facts. From 3 and 4 the red sherds are seen to have been made of a clay, moderately rich in alumina and rather high in iron oxide, and the objects have been burnt oxidizing. There are no signs of other admixtures than the loess sand with the possible exception of some potash from wood ash since the values of this oxide are rather high. Chemically, the buff and yellow sherds differ strongly from the red ones in having a high content of lime, and at the same time the silica content is accordingly lower. In this case also it is possible that potash from wood ash has been used, at least in the buff ceramic.

What is most interesting in the analysis of the buff and yellow sherds is the high values of CaO. As is well known from the modern manufacture of bricks, these assume a red colour if the clay is poor in lime, but if the content of lime is high a compound (a lime-diferrite, CaO · 2Al₂O₃) is formed, which colours the ware yellow or yellowish-brown. The presence of this compound (the small crystal grains seen under the microscope) was corroborated by an X-ray film from powder of the yellow sherd. Apparently the difference in colour caused by the use of lime-poor or lime-rich clays has been empirically known to the Yang Shao potters. It is noteworthy that this knowledge seems to have been forgotten in China after the Yang Shao epoch.

Ceramics of the composition shown by the analyses 3–6 have a low melting

¹⁾ Herein Undiss. 0.26 %.

²⁾ Herein Undiss. 0.94 %.

³⁾ A spectrographical determination gave K₂O=4.06, Na₂O=1.10.

point and begin to vitrify early. In heating tests the red sherds have begun to change and to become harder when kept at 1000° C for two hours. The red sherd from Kansu also showed signs of melting at the surface. At 1100° C this sherd melted rapidly. The buff sherd melted at a temperature as low as 1000° C to a black glass. The yellow sherd changed to buff when heated at 1000° C and melted to a black glass at 1100° C. That the objects melted easily when overburned is also shown by the statement of *J. G. Andersson*, that a porous scoria and elongated glass drops were often encountered at the find places. Probably the burning temperature was not the same in all cases. A variation range of about 800°—950° C seems to be plausible, but probably the burning temperature of the yellow sherd was somewhat higher, possibly 1000 or 1050° C.

T. J. Arne presumes that the clay used for Yang Shao was taken from the tertiary clay layers that underlie the loess sand, and this may be probable. The exact composition of the clays cannot be gained from the analyses, but we obtain a fair conception of the order of the amount of the chief oxides if we subtract 20 % SiO_2 — in the case of the yellow sherd about 7.5 % — from the analyses and calculate the rest at 100 %. For the red sherd, analysis 3, the result is $\text{SiO}_2=58.8$, $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3=18.5$, $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3=11.0$. The figures for the yellow sherd are $\text{SiO}_2=47.8$, $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3=16.4$, $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3=9.7$, $\text{CaO}=16.6$ and the values of the buff sherd $\text{SiO}_2=48.7$, $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3=18.7$, $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3=10.4$, $\text{CaO}=11.9$. Apart from the high content of lime in those of the yellow and buff ceramics, all the clays may have been very similar.

GREY AND RED SHERDS FOUND TOGETHER WITH THE YANG SHAO CERAMICS

Together with the Yang Shao ceramics were found a grey or red, generally crude, pottery with thick walls, as also dark and light grey sherds with thin walls and smooth surface and polished on the outer side. Two slides of specimens of the latter kind showed mixtures of clay and a fine sand with grain similar to that in Yang Shao, but the quantity of sand is decidedly higher. Coarse sand grains are practically lacking.

Evidently the red or grey colour of the crude thick sherds is merely due to the different atmospheres during the burning process. The ceramics have a peculiar composition. They are made up of a clay mixed with a fairly large quantity of a fine-grained sand, generally less than 0.06 mm in diameter, but in addition there are more scattered, rounded grains of a coarse sand, visible to the naked eye and having a size of 0.1—0.7 mm. The coarse grains are of a mixed composition, quartz, granite, red iron ochre, also limestone and diabase.

It has been presumed that these sherds are the forerunners of the later Chinese soft wares, and this may be possible, provided that the potters later omitted the coarse sand in the body.

SOFT WARE AND WHITE EARTHENWARE FROM SHANG-YIN AND CHOU

The country around Huang-ho was the first home of the Chinese culture, and it was from here that it spread later. The consolidation of a Chinese empire was carried out during the epochs of Shang-Yin and Chou (about 1766—481 B.C.). The pottery from this time was a soft ware, made from the same ingredients as the red Yang Shao, but, on the whole, of an inferior quality, less dense and, to judge from the observations available, having the composition of the body modified. According to *W. Hochstadter*¹⁾ it comprises grey and red wares. But a fine white earthenware was also made locally at Anyang in Honan.

GREY WARE FROM SHUN-TE FU IN CHIH LI

The sherds studied belong to Dr. PALMGREN's collection and are dated by him to early Chou. They have 5—10 mm thick walls and may come from bowls or jars. Distinct horizontal lines can be seen, arising from the shaping on the potter's wheel, and on one of the sherds there are short vertical impressions, forming horizontal rows (fig. 2). The wares have about the same degree of hardness as Yang Shao and can be scratched with a knife. In fresh fractures hollows are often seen, more or less elongated, running parallel to the surface. The objects may have been burnt under reducing conditions and they have a rather light grey colour. In the case of one of the sherds the vessel may have been exposed to "imbibing" according to the hot-moisture process alluded to by *W. Hochstadter*.²⁾ This changed the colour of the ware to dark yellowish-grey, but in the middle of the wall there remained a light grey kernel.

In a slide of this latter specimen the ceramic is shown to consist of a dense clay, with an essential content of mica and with a considerable amount of sand, decidedly higher than in Yang Shao. The sand, probably a loess sand, consists chiefly of quartz, but some felspar is present and also some other accessory minerals, amphibole, garnet, zircon and apatite. The grain is generally less than 0.06 mm, but a few isolated fragments have a diameter of up to 0.3 mm. In the light grey kernel small unchanged scales of biotite (dark mica) are seen; in the outer imbibed parts the biotite has decomposed.

In an X-ray film, lines from mullite are absent.

If a splinter of the sherd is heated it becomes brick red. At 1100°C the colour changes to dark brown red and the ceramic has begun to melt. The burning temperature may have been about the same as for Yang Shao (800—950°C), or possibly somewhat lower.

An analysis of the sherd studied microscopically, kindly made for me by Dr. *R. Blix* at the Mineral Dept. of the Swedish Museum of Natural History gave the following result.

¹⁾ The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Bull. No. 24, 1952.

²⁾ Op. cit. p. 83.

SiO ₂ = 65.67	MgO = 2.68
Al ₂ O ₃ = 16.65	CaO = 1.54
TiO ₂ = 0.84	K ₂ O = 2.94
Fe ₂ O ₃ = 7.00	Na ₂ O = 1.32
MnO = 0.14	Loss on ign. = 1.06
	Total 99.93

This is about the same as in analysis No. 3 of Yang Shao, table 1. If we subtract the sand, here estimated at 30 %, and calculate the residue on 100 %, the resulting figures for the principal oxides are: SiO₂=51.8, Al₂O₃=24.2, Fe₂O₃=10.3. This is a little lower SiO₂ content than in the Yang Shao sherd and a little more Al₂O₃, but both clays are of a similar kind.

WHITE EARTHENWARE FROM ANYANG

Two pieces of this famous pottery were placed at my disposal by the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm. Both were decorated with the same pattern of incised zigzag bands and meanders as shown in fig. 3. The sherds can scarcely be scratched with a knife. The colour in fresh sections is almost pure white in one of the sherds and light yellow in the other. In slides seen under the microscope the sherds have a peculiar composition. Both are made from a dense kaolin-rich clay, in which there have been thin layers of a very fine-grained quartzite or sandstone containing some scattered scales of rather coarse mica. A few coarser grains of quartz are also visible in the sandstone. The clay has been kneaded, causing both it and the sandstone layers to be broken up into rounded or elliptical lumps of different sizes (from 0.03 to about 0.7 mm). The sandstone lumps and the quartz grains, freed during the kneading, have acted as meagering material and no other material has been used for this purpose. The kneading has been somewhat more effective in the yellow sherd, in which the lumps are fewer and more indistinct, but in the white one they are numerous (fig. 4). No felspar can be traced microscopically. The clay is wholly changed into mullite both in the lumps and in the enclosing dispergated matter. X-ray films of both sherds show distinct lines of mullite and quartz and no other lines. The porosity¹⁾ in the white sherd is 6.3 % and in the yellow one 11.1 %.

An analysis of material from the white sherd was kindly made by Mr. A. Aaremäe, at the Chemistry Dept. of the Geological Survey of Sweden. It is shown below under 1. Under 2 another analysis is quoted, published by S. Umehara (Tokyo Shutsudo Hakushoku daki no kaukyu, Kyoto 1932).

The two analyses tally quite well. The ceramic is somewhat low in SiO₂, especially the sample represented by analysis 1, a consequence of the lack of added quartz. Whether some quartz has been added in 2 is not known. The analyses show the figures of a kaolin-rich clay with moderate impurities of iron, magnesia and lime, but the alkali content is somewhat high. As no felspar can be shown in the sherds investigated by me, the alkalis must have been present in the clay and sandstone

¹⁾ Determined according to the boiling method.

	1	2
SiO ₂	56.66	59.94
Al ₂ O ₃	34.32	34.68
TiO ₂	1.02	0.98
Fe ₂ O ₃	1.72	1.56
MgO	0.48	0.50
CaO	0.63	0.80
K ₂ O	2.48	2.10
Na ₂ O	0.78	1.04
Loss on ign.	1.82	n. d.
Total	99.91	101.80

unless, as is possible, the potters have added some potash from wood ash. The ceramics have a somewhat hard-burnt composition but their refractoriness has been modified by the low silica content and the relatively high content of alkalis. Indeed, the bodies of the northern Sung ceramics of much later date were generally more hard-burnt.

As the kaolin of the clay has been totally changed into mullite, the burning of the sherds must have been comparatively high. According to S. T. Lundin¹⁾ an impure kaolin is almost completely changed into mullite only after heating for 10 hours at 1125° C. This gives a fair indication of the burning temperature. It may have been about 1125° C or somewhat higher. Dr. *Charles M. Harder* has come to a similar result in heating tests. According to him the probable burning temperature should lie between 1050° and 1150° C.²⁾

To judge from its porosity, the ware is an earthenware. Of the two sherds the white one may have been burnt reducing, the yellow oxidizing.

SOFT WARES FROM HAN

A lead-glazed sherd.

The sherd comes from the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities and was broken off from the neck of a large mortuary jar (fig. 5), covered with a rather dark green lead-glaze. The sherd was about 8 mm thick. It is easily scratched with a knife. Under the microscope the consistency is rather similar to that of the grey Chou ceramic, but it had been burnt while oxidizing. The body consists of a red burnt, iron-rich clay, containing white and dark mica (biotite) and a considerable amount of fine loess sand of quartz, also some feldspar (fig. 7). Grains of a brownish hornblende were also present. The sand grains seldom exceed 0.06 mm in diameter. The body contains small lumps of a clay poor in sand, thus indicating that the sand has been admixed to the clay.

As the mica and hornblende present are not decomposed, the firing temperature may have been low, probably about 600—700° C. When kept at 900° C for 2 hours

¹⁾ Studies on Triaxial Whiteware Bodies, Royal Instit. of Technology, Stockholm 1959, p. 92—93.

²⁾ *Pope, John A.*, Far-Eastern Ceramic Bulletin, 5, 1949, p. 49.

the colour had changed to red brown and the split showed signs of melting. At the same time it had attained a very hard consistency.

An analysis, kindly performed by Mrs. *B. Gelin*, Gustavsberg, is quoted below.

$\text{SiO}_2 = 64.6$	$\text{CaO} = 2.1$
$\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3 = 16.1$	$\text{K}_2\text{O} = 3.1$
$\text{TiO}_2 = 0.3$	$\text{Na}_2\text{O} = 1.6$
$\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3 = 7.4$	Loss on ign. = 2.2
$\text{MgO} = 2.5$	Total = 99.9

This is similar to the analysis of the grey Chou sherd quoted above. A subtraction, as before, of 30 % SiO_2 for the quartz in the sand and a calculation of the residue on the basis of 100 % gives the following values: $\text{SiO}_2 = 49.5$, $\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3 = 23.5$ and $\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3 = 10.6$ %. The two clays may have been nearly identical.

A sherd of a dark grey unglazed ceramic, Han.

The sherd was taken from a small grate, a mortuary ware belonging to the National Museum in Stockholm. It was soft and easily scratched with a knife. When seen in a thin slide under a microscope it is very similar to the red sherd just described, except that the burnt clay is grey-brownish translucent instead of red, due to a reducing burning. But the same rich meagering by means of a fine sand occurs, and the sand has about the same composition as in the red sherd. Dark mica is present, though in small quantities, and its double refraction is observable. A few small lumps of lime are distinguishable. They may have been contained in the loess sand. No signs of new-formed lime-silicates were seen in connection with the lumps of lime. Small lumps of clay without any or only a few grains of sand are present. The grain of the sand does not generally exceed 0.05 mm.

When a split of the sherd is heated at 900° C it becomes deep red and harder. At 1100° C it begins to melt at the surface and changes its colour to dark brown. The degree of burning has been low; as no lime silicate has formed, it has been lower than about 600° C.

An analysis kindly made by Mrs. *Birgit Gelin*, Gustavsberg, is shown below.

$\text{SiO}_2 = 67.5$	$\text{CaO} = 1.4$
$\text{Al}_2\text{O}_3 = 18.3$	$\text{K}_2\text{O} = 2.4$
$\text{TiO}_2 = 0.7$	$\text{Na}_2\text{O} = 0.8$
$\text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3 = 5.5$	Loss on ign. = 0.8
$\text{MnO} = \text{Tr.}$	Total = 99.9
$\text{MgO} = 2.5$	

If we subtract, as before, 30 % SiO_2 for quartz in the sand, the residue, calculated at 100 % should contain 54.3 % SiO_2 , 27.5 % Al_2O_3 and 8.0 % Fe_2O_3 . This is less iron than in the red Han and the Chou sherds, but the iron content is nevertheless rather high.

PROTO-PORCELAIN

From the facts known about proto-porcelain we can imagine its development to have occurred approximately in the following way. When the Chinese colonisation reached southern China, the potters met with new geological conditions. Loess sand was no longer present south of the mountains north of Yang-tse, and the iron-rich lateritic clays in southern China were not suitable for ceramic purposes. The potters were therefore forced to choose a new method of working. When they tested kaolin clay they found a hard-burnt material, the refractoriness of which was increased as they used an admixture of meagering substance — in this case quartz sand or crushed quartz — in ample amounts equal to those they were accustomed to use in the soft wares. It was certainly no accident that they proved an admixture of iron-rich laterite, which acts as a flux. On the other hand, the amount of laterite that could be added was restricted on account of its tendency to lower the viscosity of the glass in the body and to cause deformation of the objects during burning. When searching for a further suitable flux they may have experimented with wood ash. That they did so is suggested by the analysis of the alkali glaze, published by *I. Newton* and quoted below. But when they became aware of the effect of felspar in about Han-time, they had found the right flux and after working out suitable proportions of felspar, clay and laterite they used this mixture during a very long period.

The quartz used for the pottery was probably taken partly from pegmatites. If this was the case, the potters could hardly avoid observing the felspar that occurs in the pegmatites, often in the form of large crystals and also in minable amounts. In this way their attention may have been directed to that mineral, and its ceramic properties were tested.

Proto-porcelain was first mentioned in 1917 by *B. Laufer* in his paper "The Beginning of Porcelain in China".¹⁾ According to *W. Hochstadter*²⁾ proto-porcelain appeared during the period of The Warring States (481—221 B.C.) and the oldest objects are found in central Anhui and Chekiang. Later, proto-porcelain spread southwards to Annam. A kiln site for proto-porcelain was found in 1935 by Dr. *N. Palmgren* in Chekiang at the River Wên-chou, and specimens from it were studied by me in 1953—1955 (*Palmgren's Report*). According to *Isaac Newton*, who made a detailed study of ceramics from Changsha in Hunan,³⁾ some older soft grey earthenwares from Chou and The Warring States were found here, but proto-porcelain begins in Han and continues during Six Dynasties, Tang and Five Dynasties.

The objects from Han were not yet covered with a lime-alkali glaze but with a glaze which Newton called "alkali glaze" and which, according to an analysis by *R. Terry*, contains not less than 9.70 % K_2O and 2.10 % Na_2O . As pointed out by *Newton*, a glaze of this composition cannot have been produced merely with felspar,

¹⁾ Field Museum of Natural History, Anthr. Ser., Vol. XV: 2.

²⁾ The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, Bull. No. 24, 1952.

³⁾ Some ceramic wares reportedly excavated near Changsha (Hunan), Far Eastern Ceramic Bull., No. 21, 1953 and Chinese Ceramic Wares from Hunan, the same bulletin, No. 40, 1958.

but needs an addition of K_2O , which may have originated from wood ash. On account of its high alkali content the glaze was strongly reactive with the adjoining body and had caused defects. In Six Dynasties it was replaced by lime-alkali glaze.

At present four analyses of the body of proto-porcelain are available. They are reproduced below. No. 5 refers to an analysis of a stoneware from the Samarra finds. It is said to have a celadon-like glaze, but the body is of an unmistakably proto-porcelain-like character.

Table 2

	1	2	3	4	5
SiO_2	71.61	69.6	74.60	73.68	74.68
Al_2O_3	18.67	22.0	20.10	17.19	18.88
TiO_2		0.1	0.90	0.76	
Fe_2O_3	3.57	4.4	1.80	4.47	2.36
MgO	0.33	0.4	0.20	0.46	0.51
CaO	0.59	0.1	0.10	0.20	0.41
Na_2O	4.43	3.4	2.30	0.22	2.23 ²⁾
K_2O	1.37			2.80	
Loss on Ign.				0.07	0.39
	100.57	100.0	100.00	99.87 ¹⁾	99.46

1. Proto-porcelain, Han, anal. H. W. Nicols (B. Laufer, *The Beginning of Porcelain*).
2. Proto-porcelain, 6 Dyn., Tang, 5 Dyn., anal. R. Terry (I. Newton, *Op. cit.*, 1953 p. 7).
3. Proto-porcelain, 6 Dyn. (I. Newton, *Op. cit.*, 1959 p. 28).
4. Proto-porcelain, Han(?), anal. A. Aaremäe (N. Sundius in Report of N. Palmgren).
5. Stoneware, Samarra, K. Obenauer, Ber. d. Deutsch. Ceram. Ges., 1939.

Chemically, proto-porcelain is characterized by a moderate admixture of felspar, a high content of silica and a rather high content of iron, this being due to the admixture of iron-rich lateritic clay, small ochre lumps of which are often left as dark grains in the body (fig. 9). Apart from the iron, the body does not sinter easily, but the iron acts as a flux. In two investigated sherds from Palmgren's collection, picked up from the same kiln waste, the burning had been different, corresponding in one of them to that of an earthenware, while the other sherd was a high-burnt and glass-rich, somewhat over-fired stoneware. The burning temperature of the latter may, by comparison with the relations in modern porcelain, have been decidedly higher than $1250^\circ C$, but the rich content of iron and the long burning process usual at that time make an exact determination difficult. In the earthenware the burning can hardly have been higher than 1170° — $1180^\circ C$. A difference of this kind in the burning of the objects is often met with in Chinese pre-Ming ceramics, and it seems probable that it is chiefly due to the varying heat at different sites in the kilns.

¹⁾ Including 0.02 MnO.

²⁾ Determ. as K_2O .

Analyses 2—5 of proto-porcelain are in fairly close agreement, and the potters probably followed a certain empirical scheme in the manufacture of the ware. The widest divergence is shown by No. 1 in its high content of alkalis. It shows also a peculiarly high preponderance of soda over potash, a relation not otherwise known to me from ceramics of pre-Ming age. The deficiency in potash is even greater in an analysis of the glaze covering the proto-porcelain, referred to in Table 3 as No. 2, where the figure for K_2O is 0.00. This is a very improbable figure, as both clay and albitic felspar always contain some potash. Most probably some error has occurred in the determinations of the alkalis in both analyses.

Six analyses of the glaze from the papers of *Laufer* and *Newton* are reproduced in table 3, No. 1 being that of the alkali glaze named above. The other five show the composition of lime-alkali glazes distinguished in all cases, with the exception of No. 6, by a high content of lime and iron. Both lime and iron act as a flux and produce glass of low viscosity. This has resulted in an often observed tendency of the proto-porcelain glaze to flow down as drops.

On the whole, the production of the proto-porcelain was based on the combined fluxing effect of a restricted amount of felspar and an essential admixture of iron. Without the use of iron oxide the ware would have been rather hard-burnt because of its high silica content and the restricted amount of added felspar.

Table 3

	1	2	3	4	5	6
SiO_2	75.8	54.17	55.5	52.00	58.4	56.0
Al_2O_3	6.9	14.16	16.1	17.50	17.0	15.4
TiO_2	0.2		0.3		1.1	0.7
Fe_2O_3	1.9	4.36	5.6	5.10	4.4	1.6
MgO	0.4	2.02	1.0	2.00	0.1	0.1
CaO	1.6	19.05	18.8	20.50	14.8	22.2
Na_2O	2.1	5.49	2.7	2.90 ¹⁾	3.0 ¹⁾	3.7 ¹⁾
K_2O	9.7	0.00				
CuO	0.7				1.2	0.3
Not determ.	0.7					
	100.0	99.25	100.0	100.00	100.0	100.0

1. Alkali glaze, Han, anal. R. Terry (I. Newton, *Far Eastern Ceram. Bull.*, 21, 1953).
2. Lime-alkali glaze, Han, Nicols (B. Laufer, *The Beginning of Porcelain in China*).
3. Lime-alkali glaze, 6 Dyn., Tang, 5. Dyn., anal. R. Terry (I. Newton, *op. cit.* 1953).
4. Lime-alkali glaze, 6 Dyn., anal. R. Terry (I. Newton, *op. cit.* 1958).
5. Lime-alkali glaze, 6 Dyn., anal. R. Terry (I. Newton, *bull.* 40, 1958).
6. Lime-alkali glaze, 6 Dyn., anal. R. Terry (I. Newton, *bull.* 40, 1958).

¹⁾ Alkalis and undetermined.

CELADON WARES AND YING CH'ING

Both these wares have a chemically similar body. The chief difference between them is the pale bluish-green colour of the glaze in ying ch'ing and its pure white body of low iron content. In one analysis made on the body of ying ch'ing the alkali content is also slightly higher than in the celadon wares.

Celadon wares seem to have appeared before the middle of Tang. Both celadon and ying ch'ing wares were made during Sung, Yüan and the beginning of Ming.

The development of the body of celadon from the proto-porcelain implies a diminution of the iron admixture to quite a small quantity, or its complete omission. The diminished fluxing effect thus produced in the body was compensated for by an increased amount of felspar. The content of silica is in most cases high owing to an admixture of quartz equal to that in the proto-porcelain, but it varies in some cases down to moderate. In the former case the bodies were not so easily vitrified, but with a lower SiO_2 content the relative quantity of felspar is increased and causes easy vitrification.

Both celadon and ying ch'ing are well made and are products of a technically high standard. Even in the proto-porcelain the raw materials were quite well prepared, but for celadon and ying ch'ing, quartz and felspar were very finely ground, possibly also washed, and the clay well washed up. The burning temperature may not have been very high, but this was in any case not necessary on account of the relatively easy sintering of the body. According to the observations by Prof. W. Steger and the writer, the range of the burning temperature may have been about $1170-1250^\circ\text{C}$ as compared with the relations in modern porcelain. Perhaps the real figures are somewhat lower on account of the long burning in the Chinese kilns. According to modern nomenclature and observations of the porosity, the bulk of the wares should be named stonewares and earthenwares, and only ying ch'ing and a small number of celadon wares could be regarded as porcelains. For most of the celadon wares an impure clay was used and the body is generally discoloured.

Four analyses of the bodies of celadon wares and one of ying ch'ing are quoted in Table 4. No. 6 is an analysis of a white sherd, which was found in Chihli but has all the characteristics of a southern ware imported to the north. It is denominated below as "southern white Sung".

1. Body of ying ch'ing, Sung. Anal. A. Aaremäe (N. Sundius, Palmgren's Report).
2. Body of Hsi-shan yao, Tang(?). Anal. A. Aaremäe (N. Sundius, Palmgren's Report).
3. Body of Pao-ting Pu, Sung. Anal. A. Aaremäe (N. Sundius, Palmgren's Report).
4. Body of Ta yao, Sung. Anal. A. Aaremäe (N. Sundius, Palmgren's Report).
5. Body of Yüeh yao, presumably Tang. Anal. A. Aaremäe (N. Sundius, Palmgren's Report).
6. Body of presumably southern white Sung. Anal. A. Aaremäe (N. Sundius, Palmgren's Report).
7. Glaze from Ta yao, Sung. Anal. A. Aaremäe (N. Sundius, Palmgren's Report).

Table 4

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
SiO ₂	77.79	73.72	78.94	67.43	75.15	70.58	68.59
Al ₂ O ₃	16.16	18.89	13.91	24.48	17.59	21.43	14.28
TiO ₂	0.06	0.72	0.48	0.18	0.71	0.02	0.02
Fe ₂ O ₃	0.59	1.31	2.08	2.38	2.32	0.91	0.73
MgO	0.16	0.48	0.47	0.30	0.46	0.81	0.40
CaO	0.40	0.22	0.22	0.12	0.52	1.14	10.40
Na ₂ O	1.14	0.58	0.24	0.40	0.55	0.23	0.14
K ₂ O	3.25	3.64	3.14	4.52	2.75	4.70	4.97
P ₂ O ₅	0.03	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	0.14
Loss on ign.	n. d.	0.22	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.
	99.58	99.78	99.51 ¹⁾	99.83 ²⁾	100.05	99.82	99.67

The celadon and ying ch'ing wares present a peculiar phenomenon. In all preparations from over twenty sherds, studied microscopically, a peculiar kind of quartz was found which I have called "scoriaceous" quartz (fig. 13). It is not a normal homogeneous quartz but contains small rounded holes filled with a low refracting isotropic substance, presumably a melted felspar. The nature of this quartz is a somewhat difficult problem. It may be assumed that we have to do with a quartz-felspar rock, possibly a crushed quartz porphyry, or with a fine-grained granophyre containing both graphic intergrowths and free grains of both minerals. This stone was used instead of felspar together with varying amounts of normal crushed quartz. Since the scoriaceous quartz is invariably found in the sherds studied, it is quite plausible to assume some connection between the development of the celadon body type and the discovery of this quartz-felspar stone.

Furthermore, when calculating the proportionate weights of the alkalis and Al₂O₃ in the analyses, almost identical values are found in all cases (cf. below). This remarkable fact implies that the relative quantities of felspar and clay used for the bodies have been the same in all the analysed wares. Only the amount of added quartz has varied. At first sight this may seem strange, but if the same quartz-felspar stone has been used for all the ceramics, the relations in the analyses will be more easily understood. The potters may have strictly followed a certain empirical formula for the relative amounts of stone and clay, while the admixture of pure quartz was allowed to vary at the different kilns and even at one and the same kiln.

The glaze of celadon and ying ch'ing has been developed from that of proto-porcelain. To judge from analysis No. 7 in table 4, this involved a diminution of iron and of CaO. The colouring substance in the glaze was iron.

CERAMICS IN NORTHERN CHINA DURING T'ANG AND SUNG

During the time from Chou to T'ang great quantities of low-burned mortuary wares of the type described in the foregoing were made in northern China. Whether

¹⁾ Herein 0.03 MnO.

²⁾ Herein 0.02 MnO.

hard-burnt objects of kaolin clay were also made for the use of the living is uncertain. In T'ang an extensive manufacture began on the basis of kaolin clays. Most of it may have been mortuary wares, but hard-burnt pottery for daily use was also made.

One sherd from a *white T'ang figure*, a mortuary ware, has been studied. The ceramic is rather soft and easily scratched with a knife. When heated to 1000° C a split from it had become yellow and very hard. Thus the figure must have been low-burned, probably at about the same temperature as the soft wares from the foregoing epochs. When seen in a slide under a microscope the sherd is shown to have been made from a white, uniform and dense clay without meagering material.

Hard-burnt T'ang and Sung ceramics in northern China.

It is a curious fact that the methods of pottery-making in northern and southern China were distinctly dissimilar. At first, during T'ang, the northern potters used coloured glazes containing lead on their hard-burnt wares. Five sherds of this kind from Dr. *Palmgren's* collection have been investigated by me, two bright green, one with blue and two with deep violet colours. In one of the latter a white glaze was applied on the inside of the sherd. Spectrographical tests of the coloured glazes showed the presence of lead in all of them, but the amount is only high in the green ones, as is shown by the high refraction ($N=1.659$). In the other three the refractions ranged from 1.530 to about 1.535, and the content of lead must here be low. The colouring substance is copper in the yellow and blue glazes, manganese in the violet ones. The white glaze on the inner side of one of the violet sherds has a refraction distinctly lower than that of Canada balsam (about 1.530), and it must be a pure lime-felspar glaze. It is noteworthy that both this glaze and that containing lead were used on one and the same object. On the whole, the low-refracting coloured glazes studied should not be designated as lead glazes, but as lime-alkali glazes, with small amounts of lead admixed as fluxes. Spectrographical tests have shown the presence in them of Al_2O_3 and CaO in large amounts (cf. *Palmgren's* Report).

During the Six Dynasties the lime-felspar glaze was developed in the southern provinces, and it seems plausible that the northern T'ang potters adopted it from there. In any case a white or colourless lime-felspar glaze was used in northern China during T'ang, and during Sung the potters developed a variety of different colours, nearly all of them produced from iron admixed in different quantities and burned in reducing, neutral or oxidizing atmospheres in the kilns. The technique of creating colouring effects in the glaze was high, and the skill and artistic power in the shaping and decoration of the wares has not been surpassed since.

The glaze of Chün is an exception from the general rule that iron is the colouring medium. The colour in this ware may be the result of the diffraction of light when the glaze is viewed from above. In transmitted light the glaze is colourless but clouded by a finely diffused dust, small drops of glass or crystals, possibly a phosphate, which may act as a diffractive medium (fig. 17).

With regard to the body, the northern potters followed their own line. They did

not accept the felspar porcelainous mixture of the celadon wares. Thus practically no studied northern wares made during T'ang and Sung were of felspar porcelain. The body was made by kneading or washing up a more or less impure ceramic clay, which was meagered with a moderate amount of crushed quartz or, less often, with a natural sand. Some small quantities of iron ochre were often added as a flux. Perhaps in most cases no felspar was used at all; in other cases a little, or at most only a very moderate amount of it, was admixed. From the study of the sherds from *Palmgren's* collection it was concluded that some felspar was used in cases in which the clay had been empirically found to be very refractory.

On the whole, no great care was devoted to the preparation of the raw wares. The quartz was not very finely ground and the dense clay was often only partially washed up. Naturally the relations have varied, and especially in northern celadon and Kuan yao¹⁾ the body is of a very homogeneous and dense consistency and the quartz or sand is of a fine grain; but otherwise the body is often coarse and contains more or less numerous lumps of undispersed clay (figs. 14 and 18). In such cases the picture of the body, when seen under a microscope, resembles that of the old earthenware from Anyang.

The above summary of the northern wares is the result of a study of about 40 sherds from Sung of different types, and of the above-mentioned five Tang sherds. In the whole material studied, only one sherd of white Sung, possibly made in northern China, contained a large amount of felspar.

The difference between the northern Sung ceramics and the celadon wares is also well illustrated by the analyses in table 5, as compared with those of table 4. The relations concerning porosity and spec. gravity appearing in the determinations by Prof. *Steger* (Report of *Palmgren*), also show distinct differences with higher values in the northern wares than in celadon.

The raw mass of the northern ceramics is of a rather hard-burnt character. To judge from the attempts made by Prof. *Steger* and myself to estimate the burning temperature, it has varied in different sherds even of the same type. The lowest burnt ones may have been heated only to about cones 4—5 (about 1165°—1180° C) but these are few. In most cases the heating may correspond to about cones 9—11 (about 1250—1285° C) and in some cases the burning may have been stronger, perhaps up to cones 12—13 (about 1310—1350° C). These figures refer to the relations in ceramics burnt in modern kilns, but here again a certain reservation must be made for the long burning time in the Chinese kilns.

1. Body of black Temmoku, Ch'ing-ho Hsien, anal. Mrs. B. Gelin, Gustavsberg.
2. Body of light-green Chün, Ch'ing-ho Hsien, anal. Mrs. B. Gelin, Gustavsberg.
3. Body of white Sung, Ch'ing-ho Hsien, anal. Mr. A. Aaremäe, S.G.U.²⁾
4. Body of white Sung, Chü-lu Hsien, anal. Mr. A. Aaremäe, S.G.U.
5. Body of northern Celadon, Ch'ing-ho Hsien, anal. Mr. A. Aaremäe, S.G.U.

¹⁾ Kuan yao is not a celadon but may be considered as the product from a northern pottery which had moved south upon the flight of the Emperor in 1127 and had continued to employ its old manufacturing method.

²⁾ S.G.U.=The Swedish Geological Survey.

Table 5

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
SiO ₂	60.9	64.9	61.72	59.92	63.70	59.06	63.59	63.28	60.25	59.55	59.33	72.79	67.0
Al ₂ O ₃	32.0	28.3	32.12	32.78	29.01	35.62	29.27	30.99	35.37	37.26	31.72	9.94	15.7
TiO ₂	1.6	0.9	0.69	1.61	0.94	0.78		1.1	0.93		0.20	0.07	0.3
Fe ₂ O ₃	1.9	2.0	0.55	2.07	1.78	0.55	2.06	1.27	0.7	0.26	1.40	1.58	0.6
MgO	0.1	0.1	1.12	0.45	0.62	0.67	0.47	0.51	0.63	n. d.	0.80	1.50	tr.
CaO	1.7	1.0	1.04	0.79	1.12	1.14	1.68	0.46	0.94	1.33	2.92	8.80	11.7
Na ₂ O	0.3	0.3	0.92	0.16	0.45	0.51	1.64 ¹⁾	1.24 ¹⁾	1.21 ¹⁾	0.70 ¹⁾	1.82	0.72	1.0
K ₂ O	1.5	1.9	1.31	1.66	1.84	1.29						3.85	2.6
P ₂ O ₅	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	0.54	0.5
Loss on ign.	n. d.	0.6	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	n. d.	1.00	0.73	0.10	0.37	1.45	n. d.	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	99.47	99.44	99.46	99.62	99.71	99.58	100.13	99.47	99.64	99.79	100.0

6. Body of Ting yao, Ting Chou, anal. Mr. A. Aaremäe, publ. by G. Lindberg, The Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities. Bull. 25, 1953.
7. Stoneware, Samarra (Tang), K. Obenauer, Ber. d. Deutsch. Keram. Ges. 1939, p. 1.
- 8—11. Stonewares and earthenwares, Samarra (Tang), F. Sarre, Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra, Bd. 2, Berlin.
12. Glaze from violet Chün, Ch'ing-ho Hsien, anal. A. Aaremäe, S.G.U.
13. Glaze-drop from light-green Chün, anal. Mrs. B. Gelin, Gustavsberg.

SUMMARY OF THE BODY TYPES USED FOR THE PRE-MING CERAMICS IN CHINA

If we disregard the soft mortuary T'ang wares in the northern part of the country, the pre-Ming ceramics of China studied here have been manufactured with four types of body. Each type has been used during a long time and the potters have generally rather strictly followed a certain recipe when preparing the raw mass. The four types are: the easily sintered body of the soft wares, the proto-porcelain, the celadon and the northern ceramic types.

The body of the soft wares. The number of sherds available at present is small, but to judge from them the composition of the soft wares has been kept astonishingly constant from the oldest objects to the close of Han. They were made from the red or grey, probably tertiary, clay occurring in northern China and a rich admixture of a fine loess sand. The clay has a moderate SiO₂ content, is moderately high in alumina and has an essential to high content of iron. This chemical composition ensures easy melting, so that it begins to vitrify at a low temperature and thereby acquires considerable strength. As the figures for K₂O are rather high in the analyses, some potash from wood ash may possibly have been admixed in the body thereby further facilitating vitrification. Probably the burning temperatures have been

¹⁾ Determined as K₂O.

about 800°—900° C in the Chou-herd and lower in the mortuary wares from Han. In one case — the dark grey mortuary ware from Han — the relations indicate a max. temperature of 600° C.

The *Yang Shao* is also made from the same clay and sand and burnt at a similar or higher temperature (800°—950° C, in one of the sherds possibly to 1000°—1050° C. But the admixture of sand is smaller. Its pottery is of special interest because the potters produced both red and buff or yellow bodies, using a lime-poor clay in the former and a lime-rich one in the latter. An admixture of potash from wood ash is possible, and the use of this flux may go back to a very early date in China.

The *proto-porcelain body* was made in southern China over a fairly long period, covering approximately Warring States, Han, Six Dynasties, T'ang and Five Dynasties (from c:a 400 B.C. to c:a 960 A.D.). It was a glass-rich ceramic, made from kaolin clay. It was rich in admixed quartz — an inheritance from the soft wares — and owed its vitrifying ability to the combined effect of a moderate amount of felspar and an essential admixture of iron ochre from iron-rich laterite. The burning temperature may have been between c:a 1170° and max. 1250° C.

The *celadon body* differs from the proto-porcelain in that the amount of iron oxide is reduced to quite small quantities or is omitted altogether. To compensate for this, the amount of felspar was increased. Generally the quartz content was high, but it varied, and in the wares with moderate silica content the body became easily sintered. Technically, among the pre-Ming ceramics the celadon and ying ch'ing wares are of the highest standard. The main distinctions from a modern porcelain lie in the often high silica content and in the manufacture of the celadon from an impure clay, which has resulted, in most cases, in a discoloured body. Furthermore, the porosity was generally rather high. Celadon wares were made from before the beginning of T'ang, during Five Dynasties, Sung, Yüan and the former part of Ming (about 800—1400 A.D.). The burning temperature has been estimated at c:a 1170° to 1250° C.

Ying ch'ing has a body that only differs from that of celadon in being pure white and low in iron and in having a slightly higher content of felspar.

The *northern type of body during T'ang and Sung* was of a somewhat hard-burnt character. It was made from kaolin clay without — or with only a small admixture of felspar and also with little or no iron ochre added. The sintering was in many cases merely caused by the impurities of TiO_2 , CaO, MgO and alkalis contained in the clay. But the potters did what they could to diminish the refractoriness of the body by the use of a small or moderate amount of quartz. The burning temperature may have varied between c:a 1170° C and over 1300° C. In most cases it seems to have been about 1250—1285° C. The old Anyang ware from Shang-Chou was of a similar type. Whether hard-burnt ceramics were made in northern China during the interval from Chou to Tang must be left undecided on account of the lack of sherds, but in T'ang a manufacture of hard burnt ceramics began in northern China and culminated during Sung, before northern China succumbed to the Mongols in about 1127. After that date at least one pottery, that of Kuan yao, continued the northern tradition in Chekiang.

CHEMICAL AND CERAMIC DISCUSSION OF THE HARD-BURNT BODY TYPES

A graphic survey of the analyses of hard-burnt ceramics available is given in the triangle diagram of SiO_2 , Al_2O_3 and alkalis in fig. 19. These are the predominant and type-determining oxides in the ceramics, except only that the proto-porcelains have an essentially higher vitrifying ability than would appear from the diagram owing to their high content of iron oxide. For the reproduction in the diagram the figures for SiO_2 , Al_2O_3 and alkalis in the analyses were calculated on 100 % and plotted in the triangle.¹⁾

The corners of the diagram mark the sites of 100 per cent of the three oxides; points on the sides mark mixtures of two of the oxides, and mixtures with all three oxides have their sites within the triangle. Thus point E represents a mixture with 79.5 % SiO_2 , 11.2 % Al_2O_3 and 9.3 % K_2O .

Two directions in the diagram regulate the vitrifying ability of the bodies. One is the direction of an increasing amount of K_2O (in general, a larger amount of felspar), implying an increased vitrifying ability. This is the direction from the line SiO_2 — Al_2O_3 towards the corner for K_2O . The other is the direction from the SiO_2 corner, i.e. a diminished amount of SiO_2 (in general, less added quartz), which also implies an increase in vitrifying ability. Furthermore, all points on any one line drawn from the SiO_2 corner to the base line K_2O — Al_2O_3 have similar proportions of alkalis, and Al_2O_3 . Thus, moving along such a line, only the quartz content and the total amount of Al_2O_3 + alkalis are changed, while the proportion between alkalis and Al_2O_3 is left unchanged. Two lines of this kind are shown in the diagram.

In the triangle the points of the three body types occupy different sites. The northern ceramics form a zone along and in the vicinity of the side SiO_2 — Al_2O_3 . Their proximity to the side line is a sign of the low content of alkalis and of the hard-burned character of the ceramics. The spread along the line shows the variation in silica (chiefly a varying admixture of quartz). The variation is moderate. The most easily vitrifying members in the group of the northern ceramics are the old sherds from Anyang.

The points of the proto-porcelains form a small row around and on the right-hand line drawn from the SiO_2 corner. This makes it probable that the potters followed some norm for the raw mass with approximately similar proportions between felspar and clay (alkalis and Al_2O_3 in the diagram). The silica content is high (large admixture of quartz) and its variation is restricted. In spite of the admixture of essential amounts of felspar the proto-porcelain would have been hard-burnt, because of its high silica content, if iron oxide had not been added.

For the celadon wares the points of the analyses have a peculiar distribution. They form a long row on or immediately adjoining the left-hand line drawn from the SiO_2 corner. Ying ch'ing also lies in the immediate vicinity of the line. This shows that the potters strictly followed a certain formula for the raw mass in that

¹⁾ In the calculation the (generally small) amounts of Na_2O were included in the figures for K_2O . Only the upper part of the diagram is shown in fig. 19.

- x Protoporcelain
- 1. 6 Dynasties
- 2. Lü-fu Keng, Han?
- 3. 6 Dynast. - 5 Dynast.
- 4. Samarra

1. 6 Dynasties
2. Lü-fu Keng,
3. 6 Dynast.-5
4. Samarra

◎ Celadon wares

1. *Hsi-shan yao*
2. *Pao-ting Pu*
3. *Ta yao*
4. *Ying ch'ing*
5. *Yueh yao*
6. *Southern white Sung*

1. *Hsi-shan yao*
2. *Pao-ting Pu*
3. *Ta yao*
4. *Ying ch'ing*
5. *Yueh yao*
6. *Southern whif*

- Anyang-
- Northern Tang and Sung-

- ◎ Northern Tang and Sung—
1. *Ting yao*
 2. *Kuan yao*
 3. *Temmoku*
 4. *Chün*
 5. *Vit Sung*
 6. " "
 7. *North. Celadon*
- 8-12. *Stone- and earthen-
wares from Samarra*
- ▽ Modern pottery—
1. *Electrical porcelain, Ifö*
 2. " " , *Gustavsberg*
 3. *White earthenware*, "

▽ Modern pottery

1. *Electrical porcelain, Ifo*
2. " " , *Gustavsberg*
3. *White earthenware, "*

1. *Electrical porcelain, Ifö*
2. " " *, Gustavsberg*
3. *White earthenware, "*

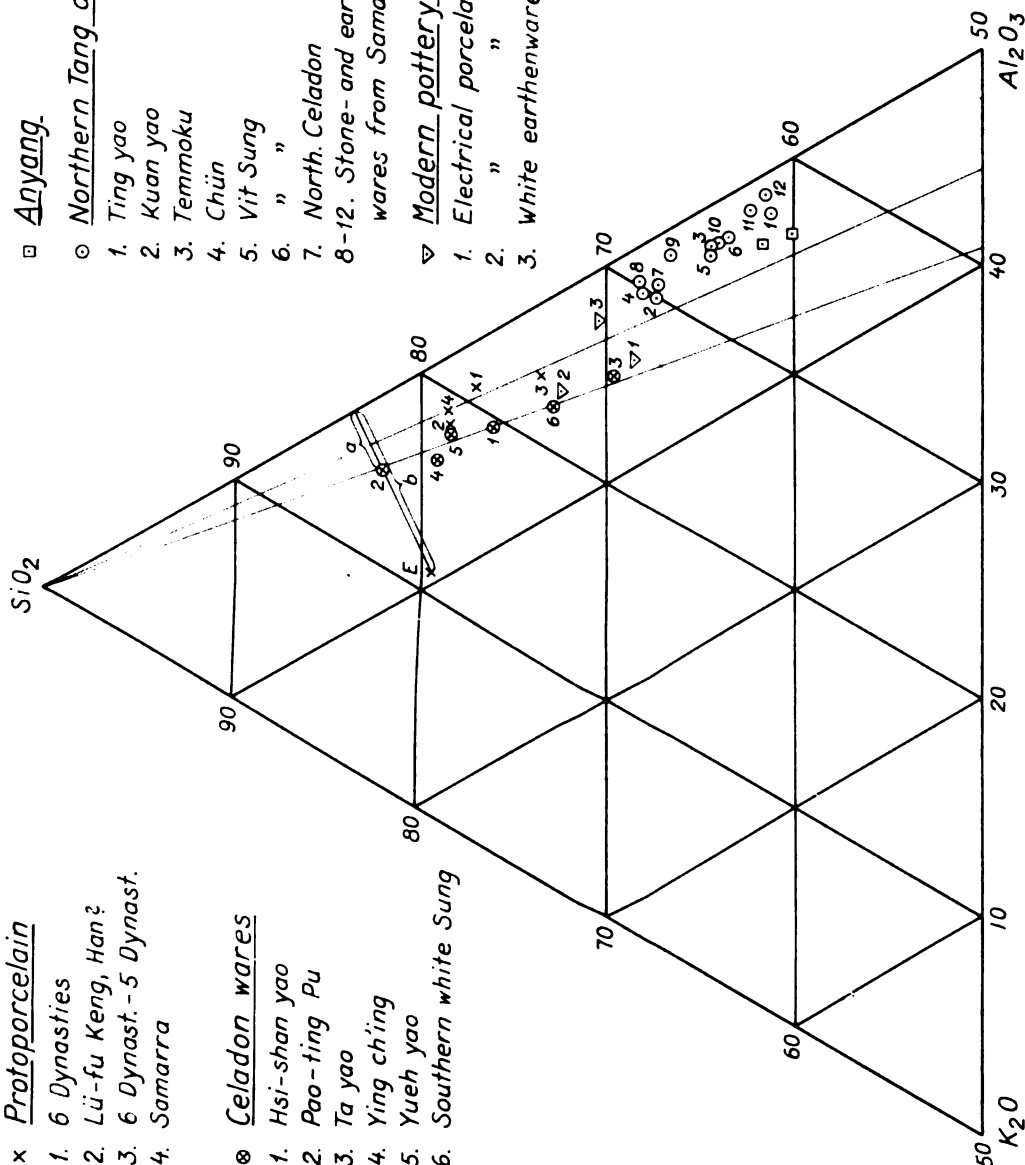


Fig. 19.

they kept the clay and felspar in very similar proportions. But the admixture of quartz varied within wide limits from moderate, as in Ta yao, to very high, as in Pao-ting Pu. The line of the celadon wares is essentially richer in felspar than that of the proto-porcelains, but in the celadon wares richest in quartz the vitrifying ability is none the less rather low. With diminished quartz admixture the body sinters more easily, and in Ta yao and southern Ting we have easily vitrifying ceramics which in this respect are comparable with modern felspar porcelains.

A possible explanation of the peculiarly similar proportions between alkalis and Al_2O_3 in the celadon wares is given above in this paper (p. 115).

With the aid of the diagram we can also gain an approximate numerical expression for the relative vitrifying ability of the bodies, if we complete the triangle with the point of the eutectic mixture of K_2O , Al_2O_3 and SiO_2 , i.e. the lowest melting mixture of the three oxides. This point is marked as E. The temperature, when this mixture is totally melted, is 985°C , if equilibrium is reached. Of course, this is never realized in a ceramic as the heating rate is too fast, but the theoretical amounts of glass that should be formed at equilibrium at this temperature can be used as an expression for the greater or less ability to vitrify during burning. Furthermore, the contents of soda in the analyses should cause some modification in the calculated amounts of glass, but as the Na_2O contents are generally small and are of a similar order of size in the analyses, they are of little significance in this connection.

In order to find the amount of glass in a body at the named temperature a line is drawn from point E through the point of the body to the intersection with the line SiO_2 — Al_2O_3 as shown in the diagram. The respective glass figure is then $\frac{a}{b} \cdot 100$.

Calculations of this kind show that the theoretical amounts of glass at the named temperature should be about 18 to 30 per cent in the northern ceramics. Anyang should yield about 37 % owing to its low content of SiO_2 and relatively high alkali content. The proto-porcelains should give 26 to 35 % glass, if no iron were present. The glass figures for the celadon and ying ch'ing wares vary between 37 and 56 %.

In this calculation no regard is paid to the influence of the impurities of TiO_2 , Fe_2O_3 , CaO and MgO in the clay. They may be of importance in facilitating vitrification. On the other hand, they are present in most cases in rather similar amounts, and it is therefore probable, that they do not disturb the relations found above regarding the glass formation.

It is of interest to note that the potters in the northern provinces have obtained the theoretically best possible results with their body type through using a low admixture of quartz. In the celadon wares also we find a similar tendency to increase the vitrifying ability by reducing the addition of quartz. On the other hand, no analyses are known that indicate an essential reduction of the silica in the proto-porcelains. Evidently their manufacturers relied on the oxide from the added lateritic clay.

LIST OF PLATES

Fig. 1. Yang Shao period. Pan Shan, Kansu. MFEA.

Fig. 2. Sherd, presumably Chou.

Fig. 3. White pottery, Anyang, Shang. From W. Hochstadter, this bulletin, No. 24, 1952, fig. 36.

Fig. 4. Section through a sherd of white Anyang ware, magn. 100 times. Numerous lumps of burnt clay and quartzite are seen in the fine-grained groundmass. Some small elongated cavities are pure white.

Fig. 5. Green lead-glazed pottery. Han. MFEA.

Fig. 6. Section through a red sherd of Yang Shao ware, Kansu, magn. 100 times. Sand-grains are white, the burnt clay is black. Areas marked "h" are cavities.

Fig. 7. Section through a red sherd of Han-ware. Magn. 100 times. Sand-grains are white, the burnt clay is black. Areas marked "h" are cavities. Note the more abundant content of sand in the Han sherd as compared with the Yang Shao section in fig. 6 and the bigger and more numerous cavities in the former.

Fig. 8. Proto-porcelain with a green glaze on the upper part.

Fig. 9. Section through a sherd of proto-porcelain, magn. 20 times. h=cavities, G=spot of glass. Three big, somewhat slaggy, black lumps of iron ochre are seen in the upper part of the picture and a number of small grains of the same substance are distributed in the body. Quartz grains are white. On the lower side of the picture is seen a thick layer of glaze, flown down during burning and to the right of it a red coating of iron oxide, black in the photograph.

Fig. 10. Section through a sherd of proto-porcelain, magn. 330 times. Within the contour a melted felspar grain, rich in mullite needles. Two big quartz grains are marked Q. The diffuse dark spots in the fine-grained groundmass are iron ochre. A number of sharply defined bubbles are seen in the picture.

Fig. 11. Section through a piece of southern celadon pottery (Ta yao), magn. 18 times. The large white areas in the body are cavities. The arrangement of remnants of quartz and lime along stripes in the thick glaze shows its build-up by layers.

Fig. 12. Detail from the body of a Ta yao celadon, 330 times magn. A big melted felspar grain, rich in mullite needles, and a quartz grain are seen in the fine-grained ground-mass.

Fig. 13. Within the contour a big grain of "scoriaceous" quartz from a sherd of southern celadon (Yang Ao t'ou), 700 times magn.

Fig. 14. Section through a sherd of Temmoku, 29 times magn. The body is coarse owing to the presence of numerous lumps of clay. The lower glaze is red owing to iron oxide, which has spread inwards from the surface. The upper glaze is black-brown in its right-hand half, owing to a black-brown colouring layer between the body and the glaze. The left-hand half of the upper glaze is red on account of iron oxide placed on the surface which has spread down and conceals the underlying black-brown colouring layer.

Fig. 15. Section through a sherd of northern celadon, magn. 16 times.

Fig. 16. Detail from the black-brown coloured crystal-layer in the upper part of fig. 14, 175 times magn.

Fig. 17. Detail from a sherd of Chün with blue glaze and white splashes, the latter caused by piles of quartz powder, magn. 70 times. The glaze contains a fine powder, arranged in stripes through the flow of the glaze during burning. This powder gives rise to the blue colour when the glaze is seen from above.

In transmitted light the glaze becomes colourless and is only slightly clouded by the powder.

Fig. 18. Section through a sherd of white Sung-ware (Ting), 24 times magn. The body is coarse owing to the presence of numerous clay fragments, light and darkish-grey in the picture. Quartz grains are white. A large cavity is seen in the right-hand lower corner. The glaze has to a great extent fallen off during the grinding of the slide.

Fig. 19. Placed as textfigure, p. 121.



Fig. 1



Fig. 3



Fig. 2

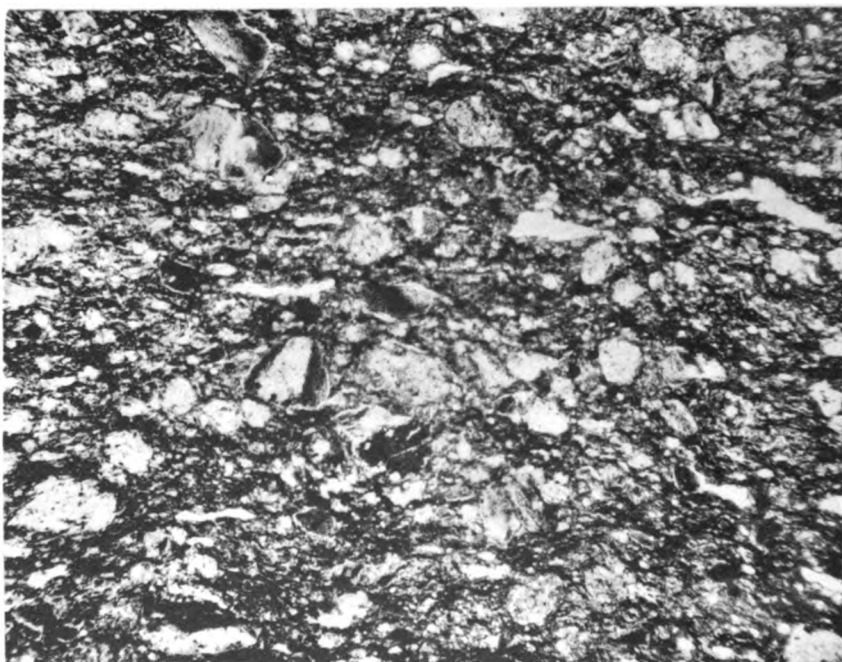


Fig. 4



Fig. 5

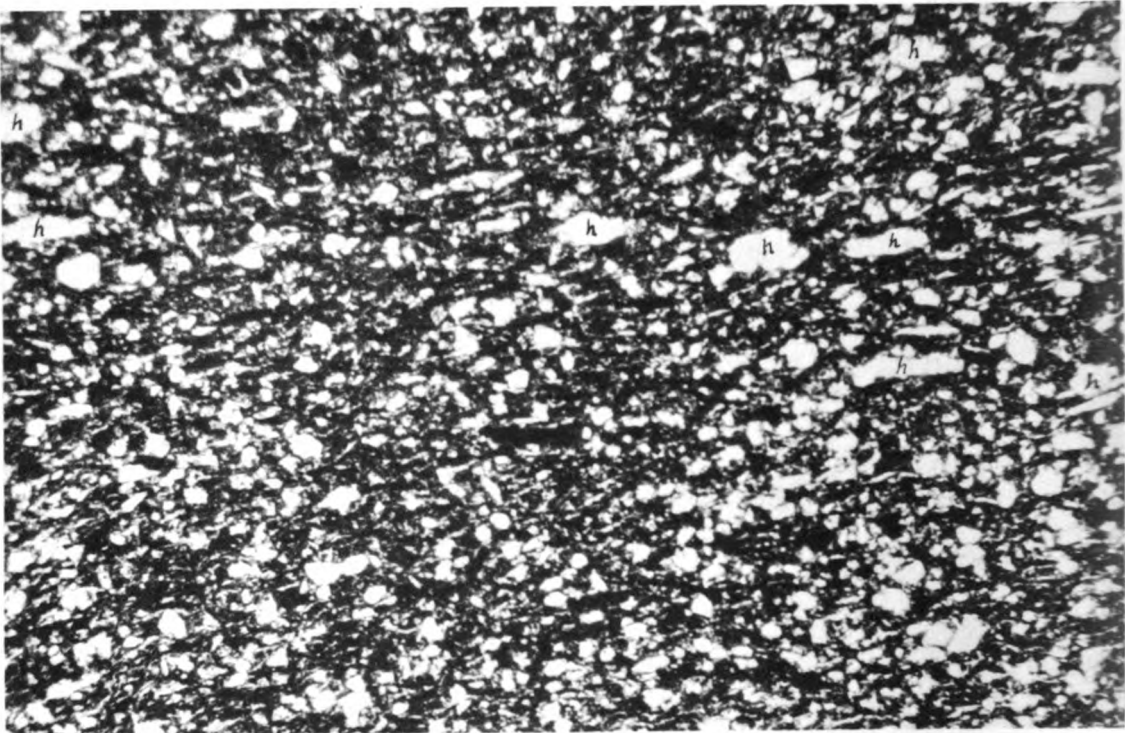


Fig. 6

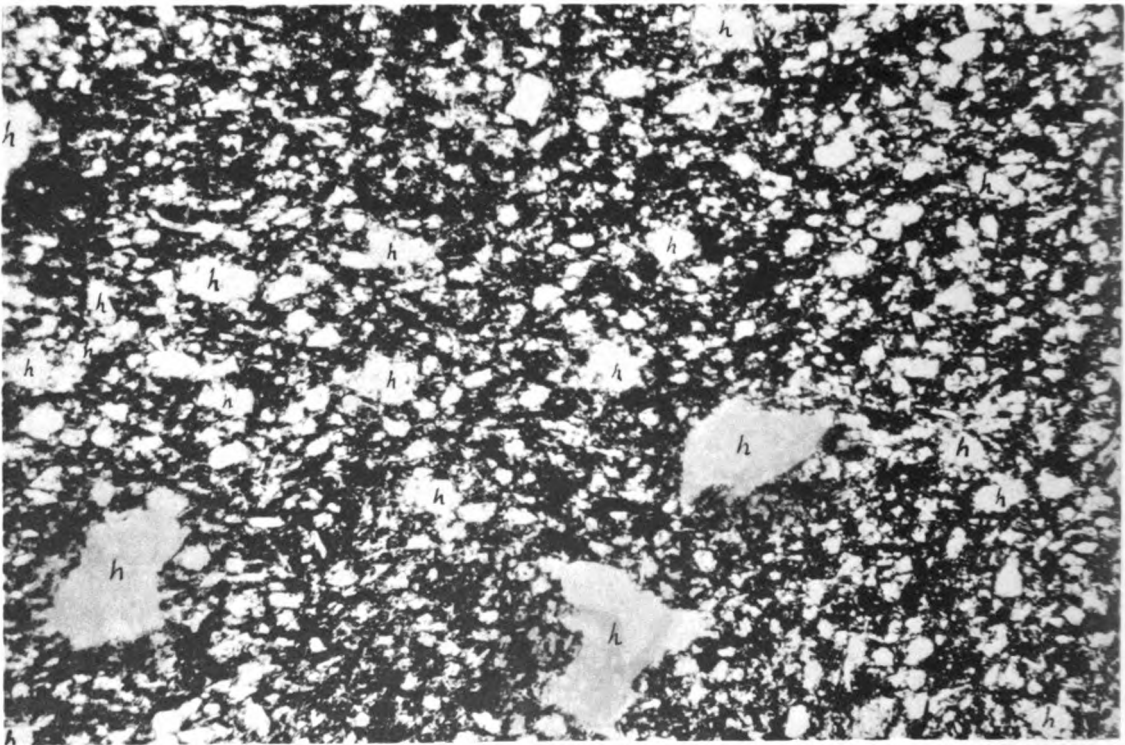


Fig. 7



Fig. 8

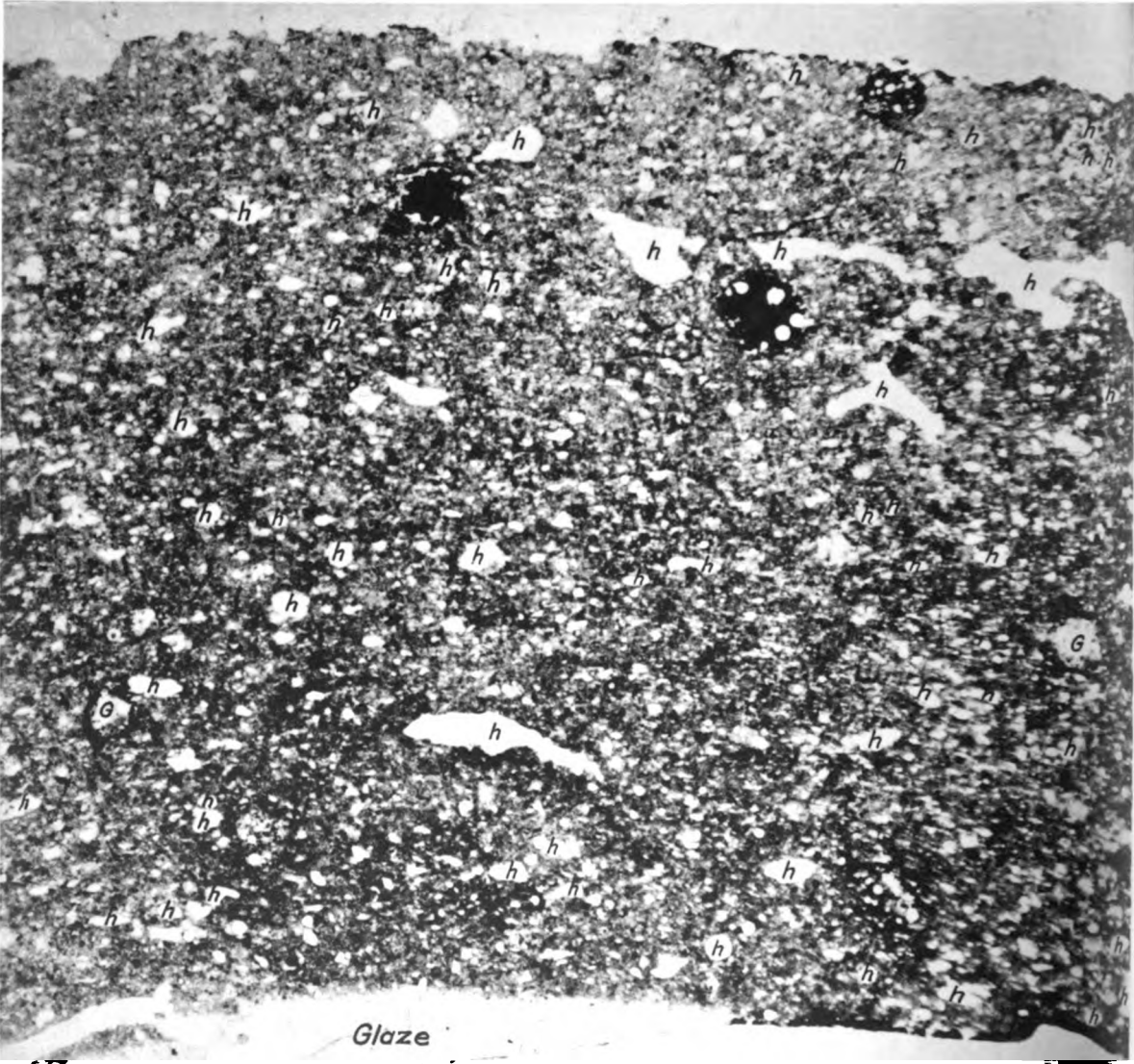


Fig. 9

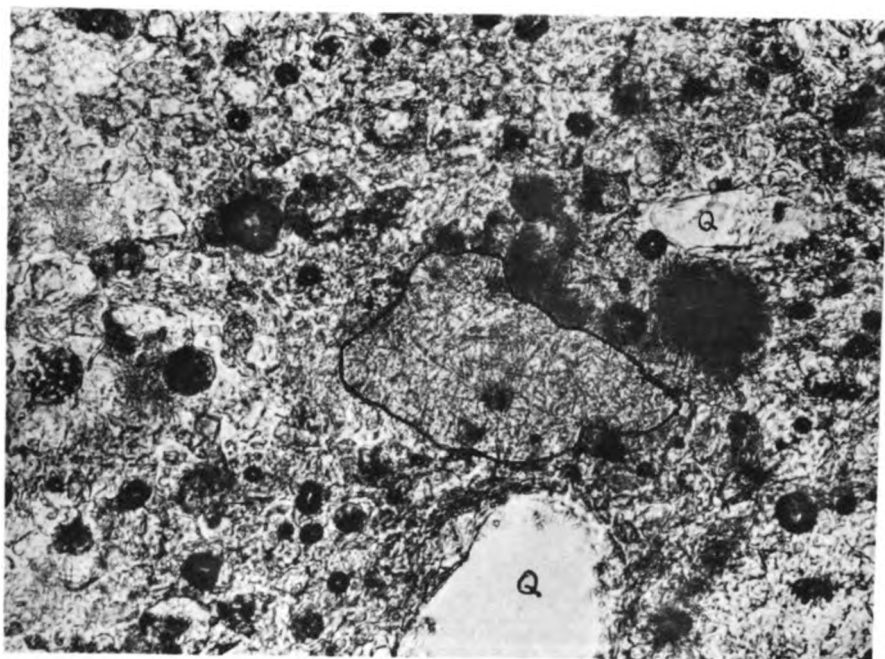


Fig. 10

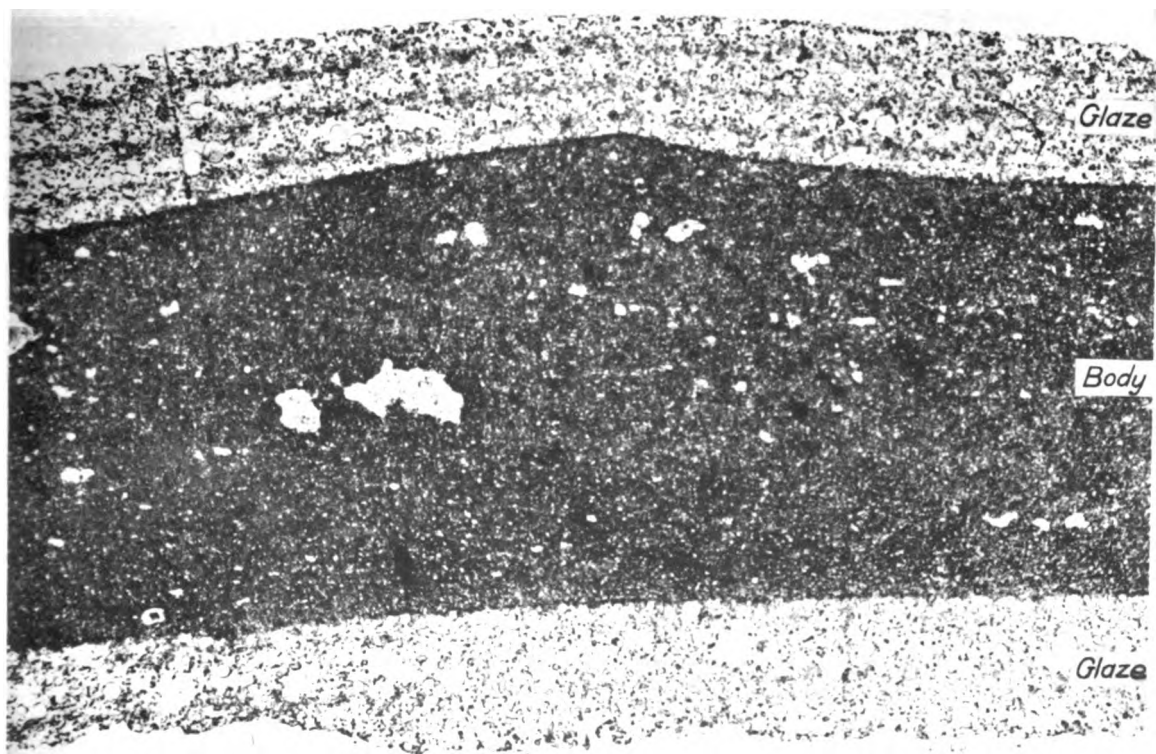


Fig. 11

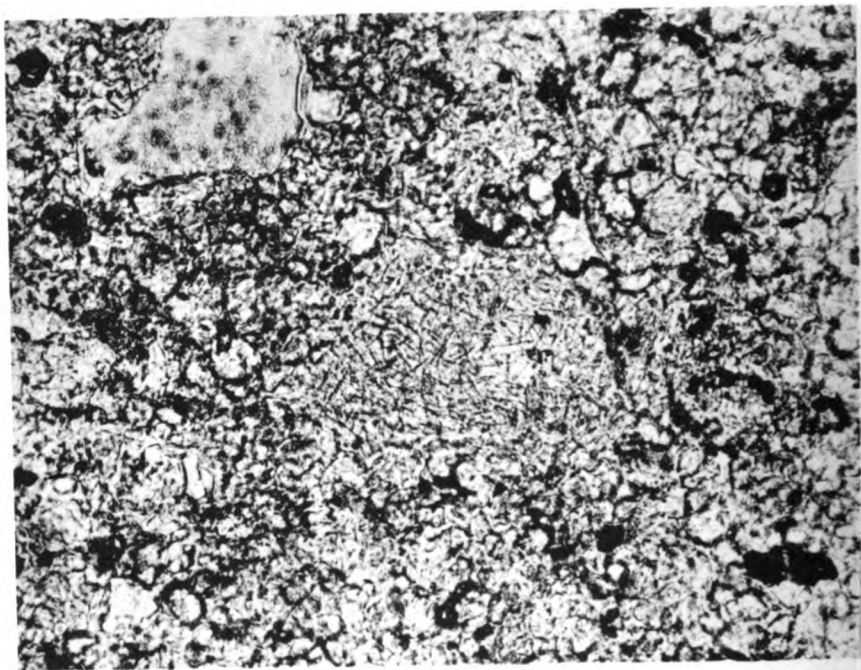


Fig. 12

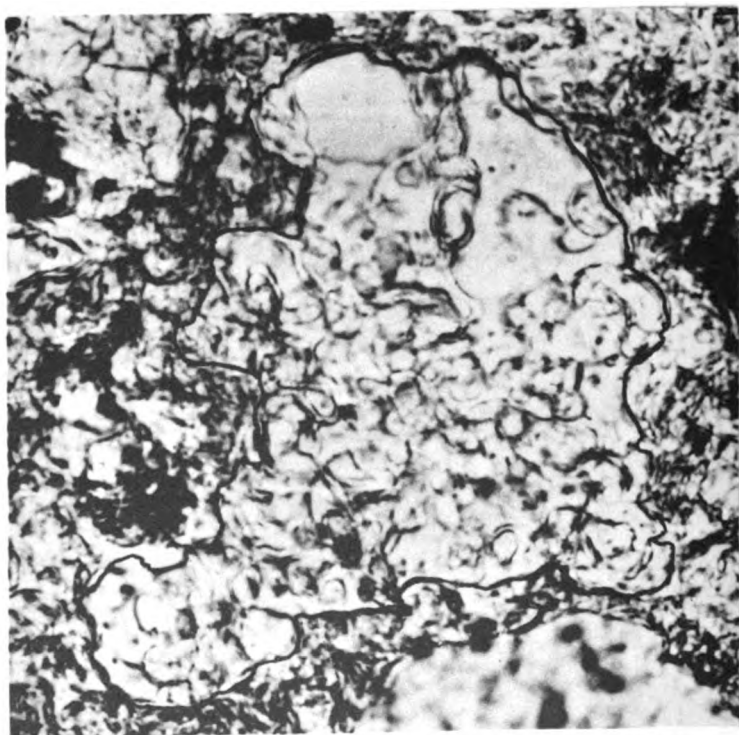


Fig. 13

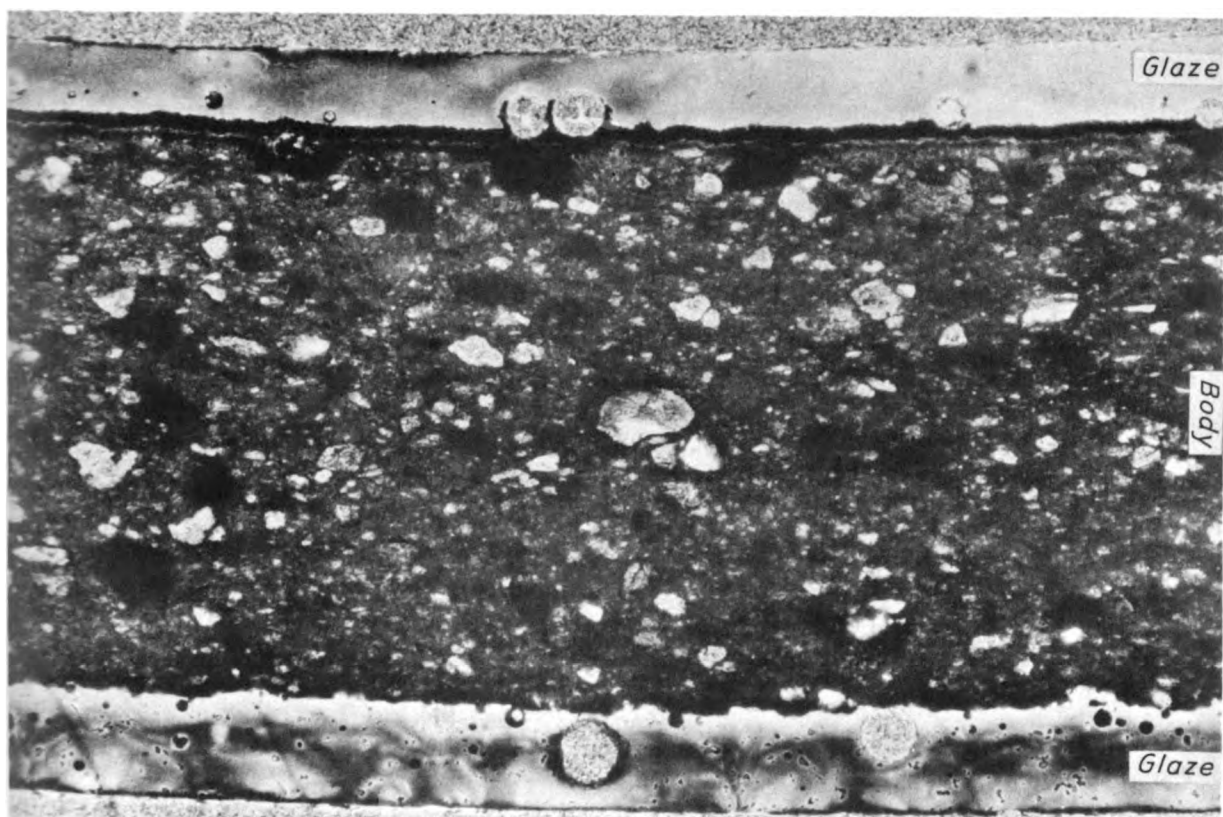


Fig. 14

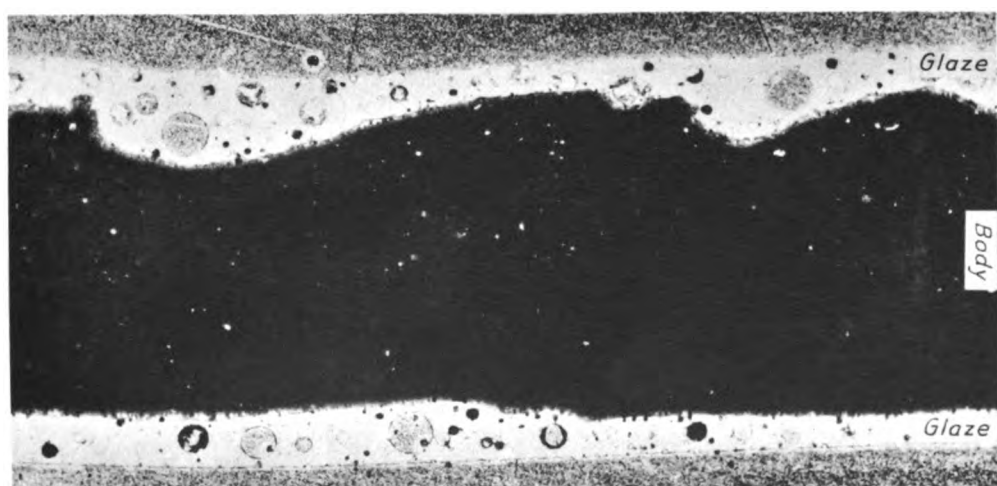


Fig. 15



Fig. 16

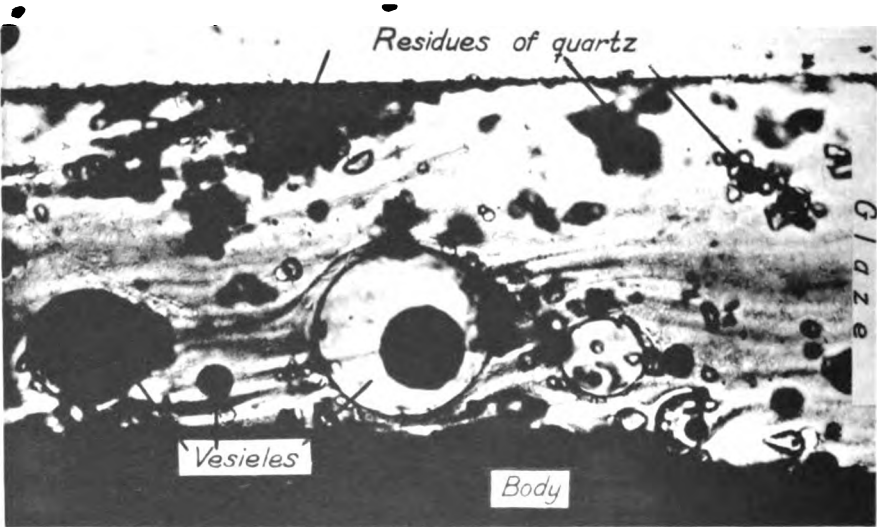


Fig. 17

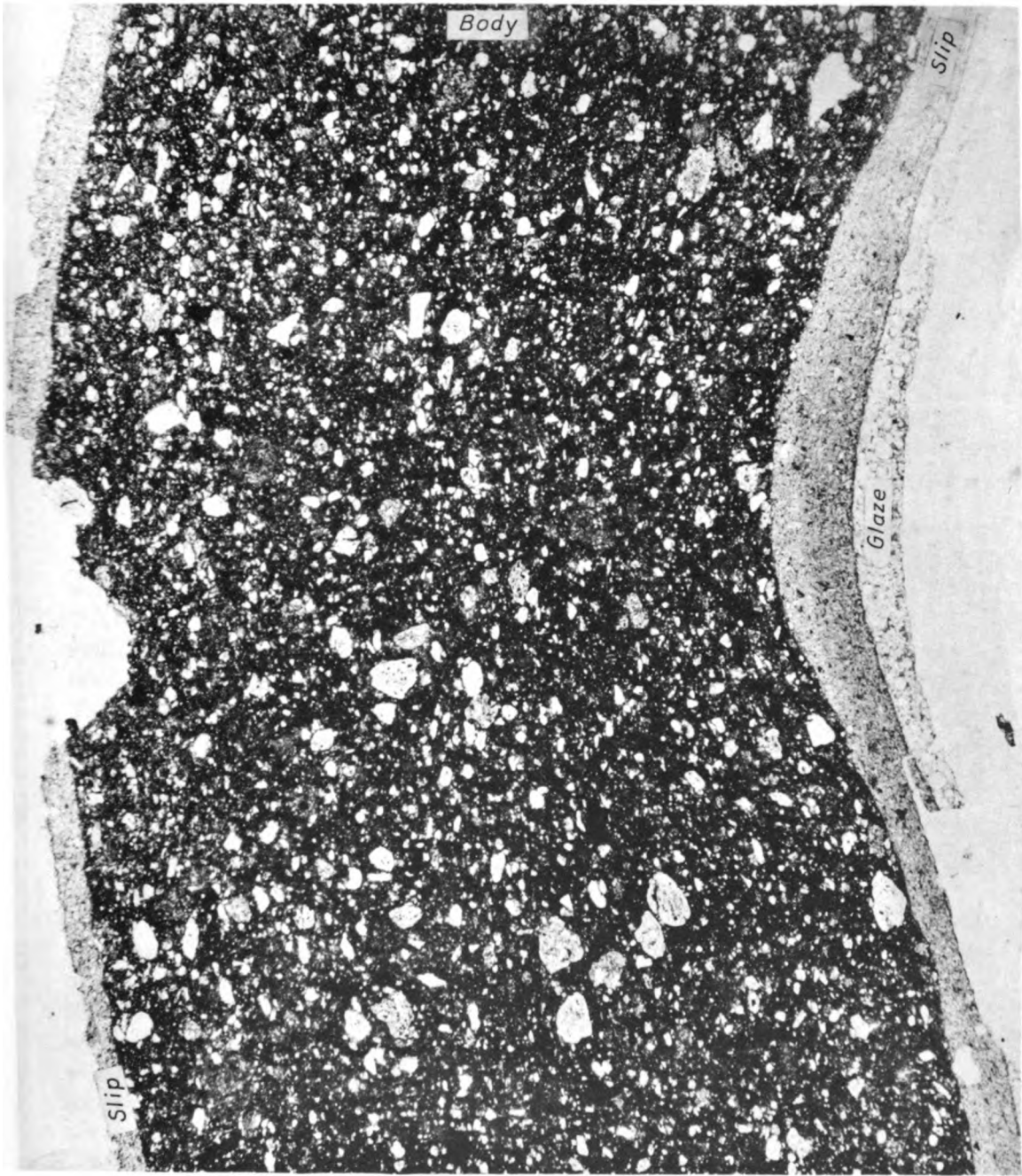


Fig. 18

THE SYNTAX OF BOUND FORMS IN SICH'UANESE

BY

GÖRAN MALMQVIST

INTRODUCTION

The grammatical forms of Sich'uanese are either *free* or *bound*. A form is free when it can occur in *absolute* position, i. e. when it is capable of being uttered alone as a *complete utterance*. A bound form occurs in *included* position, i. e. it participates in a larger form and cannot by itself constitute a complete utterance.¹⁾

Two or more forms occurring in included position constitute a *complex form*. The combination of two or more forms into a complex form is dependent on grammatical features which taken together make up a *construction*. In a grammatical description we are thus concerned with the description of forms which may occur in absolute position and with the analysis of complex forms in terms of the constructions by which they are combined.

The analysis of complex forms is usually carried out on two different levels, the syntactic level and the morphological level. On the syntactic level an analysis is made of *phrases*, i. e. complex forms containing only otherwise free constituents. These otherwise free constituents, which may be *words* or *phrases*, are classified according to their function within the phrase. The ultimate goal of a syntactic analysis is to establish a set of *form classes*, each comprising such free forms as share the same privileges of occurrence.

On the morphological level an analysis is made of such complex forms as contain always bound constituents. The ultimate goal of a morphological analysis is a complete description of the constructions used in the formation of words.

It is not always easy, however, to draw a strictly defined borderline between the two levels. When we tentatively define a phrase as a syntactic unit containing only otherwise free forms, we have to take the following cases of overlapping into account: first, certain combinations of free forms have to be classified, for various reasons, as compounds. A set of criteria to be used for the distinction of compounds and phrases will be established below; second, we must account for certain types of expressions containing as one of their constituents a syntactically bound form, serving either to

¹⁾ 'Note that a 'bound word' is always bound, but that a 'free word' means only sometimes free. Practically all free words except interjections can be bound to form longer words . . .' Quoted from Chao Yuan Ren, *Mandarin Primer*, Harvard University Press, 1948, p. 33, foot-note 2.

indicate the syntactic relation between the two other constituents of the phrase in which it is included, or to mark the function of the expression to which it is bound in relation to some expression outside that same expression. One of the main aims of this paper is to describe in some detail the functions of such syntactically bound forms, which are here termed intra-relational and extra-relational particles.

In the analysis of complex forms the concept of *immediate constituents* has proved a very useful but unfortunately not easily defined tool. Any complex form is regarded as having two (and sometimes, notably in coordinate expressions, more) *immediate constituents*. An analysis of complex forms into immediate constituents (IC) tantamounts to a series of dichotomous divisions resulting in a number of non-complex forms incapable of further division.²⁾

With the exception of coordinate expressions, where the number of the constituents is unlimited, the two ICs of a construction are said to occur in two positions within the construction. The capability of a given form to occur in given positions constitutes the collective function of that form. The collective function of the form 1. *ta* 'large; old' may thus be defined as its capability of occurring in the following positions: 2. *tse-khuai ta* 'this piece is large(r)'; 3. *pi ngi ta* '(he) is older than you are'; 4. *me-te ngi ta* '[he] is not as old as you are'; 5. *ta san-suei* '[he] is three years older'; 6. *ta te to* '[he] is much older'; 7. *hen ta* 'it's very big'; 8. *to-ta-li* 'it's extremely big' and 9. *ta ngo san-suei* '[he] is three years older than I am'.³⁾

We find a large number of forms capable of occurring in all but the last of the positions given above.⁴⁾ On the other hand only two forms have been found capable of substituting 1. *ta* in the last example, viz. the two forms 10. *hiau* 'small' and 11. *kau* 'tall': 12. *tha hiau ngo i-suei* 'he is one year younger than I am' and 13. *tha kau ngo i-tshuen* 'he is one inch taller than I am'. On the basis of their occurrence in phrases of this type the forms 1. *ta*, 10. *hiau* and 11. *kau* will have to be set aside as members of a special form class within the larger form class of comparative adjectival expressions.

²⁾ An example of IC analysis will be given below.

³⁾ The description of the privileges of occurrence of the form 1. *ta* is not complete. The instances of occurrences given above include such as may be profitably employed as criteria for the classification of the form 1. *ta* as a member of the large form class of *comparative adjectival expressions*.

⁴⁾ It must be noted here that the term 'occurrence' throughout this paper means 'occurrence within the corpus of collected utterances which has provided the material for this paper'. It is quite likely, not to say highly probable, that a form like 14. *ngai* 'short of stature' may occur in the same position as the forms 1. *ta*; 10. *hiau* and 11. *kau* and that the utterance 15. *tha ngai ngo i-tshuen* might well bear the meaning 'he is one inch shorter than I am'.

The material on which this paper is based was collected during one year's stay in Ch'engtu, the provincial capital of Sich'uan, in 1949 to 1950. The dialect spoken in Ch'engtu is regarded as standard Sich'uanese. (For a short description of the phonology of the dialect of Ch'engtu and that of Loshan — a town situated 125 kilometers SSW of Ch'engtu — see my article *A Note on Two Szech'uanese Dialects*, in *Studia Serica Bernhard Karlgren Dedicata*, Copenhagen, 1959, pp. 92—97.). A great number of isolated utterances and connected texts were recorded either in phonemic transcription or on a magnetic wire-recorder. Such items as do not derive directly from my main informants have been 'authenticity-checked' with them.

The following fundamental syntactic relations seem to be universally recognized: (a) *predication*, (b) *coordination* and (c) *subordination*. In Sīch'uanese these relations are expressed by significant word order alone or by word order and relational particles.

In a *predicative construction* the two ICs are a *topic* (T) and a following *comment* (C). The relation between the topic and the comment normally, but not invariably, corresponds to that of the traditional terms *subject* and *predicate*. Various types of predicative constructions will be extensively treated below.

Coordinate constructions contain two or more ICs and differ in this respect from all other types of constructions, which contain two and only two ICs. The two ICs may be coordinated either by juxtaposition, in which case the construction is said to be *unmarked*, or by a special set of intra-relational particles, such as 16. *ken*, 17. *thong*, 18. *ho* 'and'; 19. *hai-sī*, 20. *hue-tse*, °*me*⁵) 'or', in which case the construction is said to be *marked*. Examples of unmarked constructions are 21. *pa-pa ma-ma* 'father and mother'; 22. *kīang-iou hai-kiau* 'soy sauce and paprika' and 23. *ta pu ta?* 'is it large?'. Examples of marked constructions are 24. *ta-li ken hiau-li* 'large ones and small ones'; 25. *ta-li°me hiau-li?* 'large ones or small ones?'.⁵)

A coordinate phrase shares the privileges of occurrence with each of its ICs. In this respect coordinate phrases differ from coordinate compounds, the form class of which is not necessarily the same as that of any of its ICs: the expression 26. *ta-hiau* 'size' is a noun containing two comparative adjectives as ICs.

The order of the constituents of a coordinate phrase is normally non-significant. Important exceptions are phrases of the type 23. *ta pu ta?* 'is it large?'. In compounds the order of the constituents is always fixed.

An expression built on a subordinate construction shares the privileges of occurrence with one of the ICs, which is called the *head* of the construction. The other IC is a subordinated *extension* to this head. The relation between the two constituents of a subordinate construction is either that of (a) attribute-head, (b) head-complement, or (c) verb-object.

In an attribute-head expression (a—h) the attribute either immediately precedes the head, in which case the construction is said to be *unmarked*, or is joined to the head by the intra-relational particle 27. *li*, in which case the construction is said to be *marked*. Examples of unmarked and marked attribute-head expressions are: 28. *ngo pa-pa* 'my father'; 29. *man-man tsou* 'walk slowly'; 30. *lai khan ngi la-ko zen* 'that fellow who came to see you'; 31. °*ngo li pa-pa* 'my father' and 32. *lai khan ngi li zen* 'people who come to see you'.

In a head-complement expression (h—c) the complement either immediately follows the head, in which case the construction is said to be *unmarked*, or is joined to the preceding head by the intra-relational particle 33. *te*, in which case the construction is said to be *marked*. Examples of unmarked and marked head-complement

⁵) Morphemes for which there are no conventionalized written terms are marked by the sign ° placed immediately before the transcribed syllable. In the character text such morphemes are represented by the sign 0.

expressions are: 34. *tshang lang-ko to* 'that much longer'; 5. *ta san-suei* 'three years older'; 6. *ta te to* 'much larger' and 35. *tshe te i-ti tu si* 'tore [paper] all over the floor'.

In a verb-object expression (v—o) the object normally follows the verb, as in 36. *iong-pu-lai khuai-tsi* 'cannot use chopsticks'; 37. *hi-pu-te i-tsi* 'must not wash with soap', and 38. *pu iau li tha* 'don't pay any attention to him'.

In order to illustrate the application of these analytic principles the following sentence will now be subjected to the IC analysis referred to above: 39. *la tshe-tsi la-ko zen li ko-ko tsai hua-ta⁶) tu su °so!?* 'do you mean to say that the elder brother of that fellow who pulls the ricksha studies at the West China Union University!?'

1st Division:

1st IC is the statement *la tshe-tsi la-ko zen li ko-ko tsai hu-ta tu su* 'the elder brother of that fellow who pulls the ricksha studies at the WCUU';

2nd IC is the sentence suffix *°so!?*, which serves to convert a statement into a question expressing surprise and incredulity;

Description: the two ICs are joined in an unmarked head-complement construction.

2nd Division:

1st IC is the nominal expression *la tshe-tsi la-ko zen li ko-ko* 'the elder brother of that fellow who pulls the ricksha';

2nd IC is the verbal expression *tsai hua-ta tu su* 'studies at the WCUU';

Description: the two ICs are joined in a predicative construction, in which the 1st IC constitutes the topic and the 2nd the comment.

3rd Division:

1st IC is the nominal expression *la tshe-tsi la-ko zen* 'that fellow who pulls the ricksha';

2nd IC is the nominal expression *ko-ko* 'elder brother';

Description: the two ICs are joined in a marked attribute-head construction, in which the 1st IC is the attribute and the 2nd the head. The subordinate relation between the two ICs is signalled by the intra-relational particle *li*.

4th Division:

1st IC is the verbal expression *la tshe-tsi* 'to pull a ricksha';

2nd IC is the nominal expression *la-ko zen* 'that fellow';

Description: the two ICs are joined in an unmarked attribute-head construction, in which the 1st IC is the attribute and the 2nd the head.

5th Division: 1st IC is the verbal expression *la* 'to pull';

2nd IC is the nominal expression *tshe-tsi* 'cart; wagon; ricksha';

Description: the two ICs are joined in a verb-object construction.

6th Division:

1st IC is the nominal expression *la-ko* 'that piece';

2nd IC is the nominal expression *zen* 'man';

Description: the two ICs are joined in an unmarked coordinate (appositive) construction.

7th Division:

1st IC is the coverb phrase *tsai hua-ta* 'at the WCUU'; 2nd IC is the verbal expression *tu su* 'to study';

⁶) The term *hua-ta* is short for 40. *hua-hi ta-hio* 'West China (Union) University'.

Description: the two ICs are joined in an attribute-head construction, in which the 1st IC is the attribute and the 2nd the head. This relation is signalled by the coverb *tsai*, which serves to mark the subordinate relation between the other IC of the phrase in which it is included as an IC and the following verb.⁷⁾

8th Division:

1st IC is the coverb *tsai*;

2nd IC is the nominal expression *hua-ta*;

Description: see sub 7th division above.

9th Division:

1st IC is the verbal expression *tu* 'to read';

2nd IC is the nominal expression *su* 'book';

Description: the two ICs are joined in a verb-object construction.

From the IC analysis of this sentence we have thus obtained the following free forms: *la* 'to pull'; *tshe-tsi* 'cart; wagon; ricksha'; *la-ko* 'that piece'; *zen* 'man'; *ko-ko* 'elder brother'; *hua-ta* 'WCUU'; *tu* 'to read', and *su* 'book'; the syntactically bound forms *li* — the intra-relational particle — and *so!?* — the interrogative sentence suffix. The form *tsai* may occur as a free verb, 'to exist; to be in, at, on', and also, as here, as a coverb.

In a syntactic analysis of Sich'uanese a distinction will therefore have to be made between free words and particles. A free word is a minimal free form capable of being uttered alone as a complete utterance. A particle is a word, which, although not normally capable of being uttered alone, participates in syntactic constructions in one of the following functions: (a) to indicate the relation between the ICs of the phrase in which it is included, or (b) to mark the function of the other IC of the phrase in which it is included as an IC. Such syntactically bound forms will in this paper be classified as follows:

(A) intra-relational particles, which may be either (i) subordinating or (ii) coordinating;

(B) extra-relational particles, which may be either (i) phrase bound: namely either (a) coverbs, or (b) postverbs; or (ii) clause bound: i. e. subordinating conjunctions;

(C) affixes, which may be either (i) sentence suffixes, (ii) clause suffixes, (iii) phrase suffixes, (iv) word suffixes or (v) verbal prefixes ('preverbs').

The aim of this paper is to describe, as fully as possible, the functions of syntactically bound forms in Sich'uanese and also to give a broad outline of Sich'uanese sentence structure in general. Although a description of morphological features and processes lies outside the scope of this paper the following remarks may be relevant, especially since they have a bearing on the determination of compounds and phrases: by the term compound is here implied a combination of either bound or free or both bound and free forms, which does not constitute a phrase. From the point of view of

⁷⁾ A complete description of coverb phrases and their functions will be given below.

the free versus bound status of the constituents the following types of compounds occur: compounds with one free form (FB or BF), compounds with more than one free form (FF) and compounds with no free form (BB).

The relation between the ICs of FF compounds is often identical with the relation between the constituents of phrases. Syntactic predication, coordination and subordination have their morphological counterparts in subject-predicate compounds, coordinate compounds and subordinate compounds.

In spite of these structural similarities, the distinction between compounds and phrases is fairly clear cut. The following features serve to characterise compounds: (a) special features of tone and stress occurring only in compounds; (b) a rigid fixation of the relative order of the constituents; (c) a close-knit construction, which does not normally allow members of a compound to be separated from each other; (d) the incapability of a compound member to participate in syntactic constructions, and (e) the absence of intra-relational particles, normally present in structurally corresponding phrases.

The compound 41. *taphitshong* 'break-air — insect, — beetle' has as immediate constituents the verb-object phrase *ta phi* 'break air' as an attribute to the following noun *tshong* 'insect'. The attribute of this compound has been subjected to certain modifications of tone and stress — the verb-object phrase has the stress pattern 1—2, whereas the compound has the stress pattern 2—1—1 — and the compound is further marked by the absence of the intra-relational particle 27. *li*, which is always present in the corresponding attribute-head phrase.⁸⁾

In some cases the distinction between compounds and phrases may be arbitrarily determined. Two-syllabic verb-object expressions containing only free forms are by some scholars regarded as compounds, by others as occupying an intermediate position between compounds and phrases.⁹⁾

The analysis of compounds containing bound constituents differs in one important respect from the analysis of FF compounds. If we compare the compounds 41. *taphitshong* 'break-air — insect, beetle'; 44. *thouioupho* 'steal-oil — woman, — cockroach' and 45. *papifer* 'cling to wall-tiger, — house lizard' we find that the free constituents *ta phi*, *thou iou* and *tshong* may be syntactically determined as verb-object phrases and noun respectively. The bound constituents *pho*, *pa*, *pi* and *fer* cannot be so determined. In order to ascertain anything about these forms we have to investigate the parts played by these forms in the formation of words. The form *pho* has been found in 46. *laupho* 'wife'; 47. *lauphotsi* 'old woman'; 48. *phopho* 'mother's mother', and in 49. *pho-ngiang* 'father's sister'. All these expressions are nominal. Since *pho* does not occur outside these expressions we are free to regard it as a bound nominal form.

The form *pa* has been found in the expression 50. *pa-tau* 'to cling to', in 51. *ko-pa*

⁸⁾ Contrast the compound 42. *tusuzen* 'read-book — man — scholar' and the phrase 43. *tu su li zen* 'people who read books, people who study'.

⁹⁾ See Chang Chi-kung, *Han-yü yü-fa ch'ang-shi*, (General knowledge about chinese grammar) Peking, 1953, p. 11, and Chao Yuan Ren, *Mandarin Primer*, p. 38.

'scorched rice', and in 52. *pa-ko* 'to stick to the rice pot, of scorched rice'.¹⁰) Similarly the form *pi* is found in 54. *pithou* 'wall', and 55. *kepi* 'next door; neighbour' and may therefore be regarded as a bound nominal form. The form *fer* has not been found elsewhere. There are strong reasons for believing that *fer* is a fusion of *fu*, the bound form occurring in 56. *laufu* 'tiger' and the non-syllabic suffix 57. *-r*. On the basis of this sole occurrence *fer* may be regarded as a bound nominal form. The three compounds discussed above may therefore be regarded as structurally identical and differing only with regard to the free and bound status of their immediate constituents. 41. *taphi-tshong*, 44. *thouioupho* and 45. *papifer* are FF, FB and BB compounds respectively.¹¹)

Tones and features of stress will not be accounted for in the transcription. On the whole there is a one-to-one correspondence between the tone categories of the dialects of Ch'engtu and Peking. One major difference between the two dialects obtains in the fact that all Ancient Chinese *ju-sheng* syllables have the second tone in the dialect of Ch'engtu. Employing the numerical device for the description of tones which has been introduced by Chao Yuan Ren (see *Mandarin Primer*, pp. 24—25) the pitchforms of the Ch'engtu tones may be described as follows:

1st tone : 45; 2nd tone : 21; 3rd tone : 53; 4th tone : 213.

In some instances stress features will be indicated by the figures 2, denoting primary stress, 1, denoting secondary stress, and 0, denoting zero stress. When the position of emphatic stress is relevant to the syntactic description such stress will be marked by the sign " immediately before the emphatically stressed syllable.

All Pekinese text examples will be given in the *National Romanization* (GR).

SENTENCES AND PREDICATIONS

A sentence is a free form which is not included as a constituent of a larger construction. Sentences are either complex, or potentially complex syntactic forms or *quasi-sentences*. This latter type of sentences includes a limited set of mostly monosyllabic and disyllabic morphemes, which are syntactically anomalous in that they never occur as modified or modifying elements, and phonologically anomalous in that they are always long, stressed and atonal. Examples of quasi-sentences are *e?*,

¹⁰) The expression *pa-ko* is indeed intermediate between a compound and a phrase. The two constituents have been found separated from each other only in the A-not-A question 53. *fan pa pu-pa ko?* 'does the rice stick to the rice-pot?'. In a positive answer to this question we may expect the form *pa* 'yes, it does'. Chao Yuan Ren gives an example of a Pekinese verb-object expression containing a bound verb, which, however, 'may be free when the other word is in a nearby context' (see *Mandarin Primer*, p. 38).

¹¹) In this analysis we have worked on the assumption that certain phonetically like forms are semantically related. This assumption is often supported, but by no means proved, by the fact that certain phonetically like forms are written with the same character. This assumption, if applied to an analysis of forms with a less concrete meaning and of more obscure origin than our examples above, would no doubt prove a rather dangerous tool. In fact, this assumption — and the assumption that forms written with the same characters always are semantically related — are responsible for a great number of popular etymologies.

with a rising intonation, expressing surprise, and *e.*, with a falling intonation, expressing agreement or approval.

Since quasi-sentences are not relevant to the theme of this paper the term *sentence* will here be used exclusively to refer to complex, or potentially complex free syntactic forms.

A sentence may or may not contain a sentence suffix. Two main types of sentence suffixes are recognized: *conditioned* and *non-conditioned* sentence suffixes.

The conditioned sentence suffixes are 58. *le* and 59. *li*. The occurrence of these suffixes is conditioned by some specific feature of the underlying form, with which they enter into construction. Examples are 60. *tsa-ko le?* 'how is that?; what's the matter?'; 61. *lang-ko li?* 'how can that be?'; 62. *ho pi le?* 'why is that necessary?'. The conditioning feature of the underlying form of these sentences is the occurrence of the interrogative words *tsa-ko?*, *lang-ko?* and *ho?*.

The non-conditioned sentence suffixes are 63. *mo*, 64. *ma*, °*so*, °*to*, °*ko*, °*ka-ha*, °*se* and 65. *tsai*. Examples are 66. *ngi pu su-fu mo?* 'aren't you feeling well?'; 67. *tha pu khie la ma?* 'has he given up the idea of going there?'; 68. *ngi tso-tau mo!* 'sit down!'; 69. *ngi khie ma!* 'I suggest that you go there!'; 70. *ngi pu hiau-te °so!* 'do you mean to say that you didn't know!'; 71. *ngi i-kin iou-la °to!* 'but, surely, you have had some already!'; 72. *to-hau-khan-li °ka?* 'it's extremely pretty, isn't it?'; 73. *tse si ngi-li °ka-ha?* 'this is yours, isn't it?'; 74. *la ken-pen kiou pu len-kou hiau-te °se!* 'why, we cannot possibly know anything about that!', and 75. *ngo tsi-hau phau-khie khiuan tha-men liang-ko tsai!* 'the only thing I could do was to rush in and persuade them [not to quarrel]!'

The sentence suffixes 63. *mo* and 64. *ma* serve either to convert a statement into a neutral question, in which case they are pronounced on a mid-high pitch, or to express a command or a suggestion, in which case they are pronounced on a low pitch. In °*ka-ha*, [gaha] or [ga'a], the two syllables are pronounced on a mid-high and low pitch respectively. Sentence suffixes other than these are pronounced on a low pitch.

The sentence suffix °*so*, which is probably a phonetic contraction of 76. *si pu si o* — [sɿ ɿu sɿ ɔ] > [səhsɔ] > [sɔ] — expresses surprise over an unexpected statement or attitude. This suffix is frequently found in echoed utterances, as in the following piece of dialogue: 77. *tha pu lai-la. tha pu lai-la so!?* 'he won't come any more. Do you mean to say that he won't come any more!?'.

The sentence suffix °*to* (probably a phonetic contraction of 78. *tuei pu tuei o?*) expresses a provocative call for the consent or support of the person spoken to.

The sentence suffixes °*ka* and °*ka-ha* (possibly contractions of 79. *kai si hau?*) are equivalent to French *n'est ce pas?*

The sentence suffix °*se* expresses impatience and is frequently found in strong assertions.

The sentence suffix 65. *tsai* occurs only once within the corpus.

Using these two types of sentence suffixes as criteria we distinguish the following three main categories of sentences:

Category A comprising sentences which contain, or may contain non-conditioned sentence suffixes;

Category B comprising sentences which contain, or may contain conditioned sentence suffixes;

Category C comprising sentences which neither contain nor may contain non-conditioned or conditioned sentence suffixes.

The distinction between the categories A and C is less strict than that between the categories A and B in that the interrogative sentence suffixes 63. *mo* and 64. *ma*, normally occurring only in sentences of category A, have been found, in a few instances, in sentences of category C: 80. *ngi iou mei-iou mo?* 'well, do you have any or not?'; 81. *tha hau-la mei-iou ma?* 'surely it's a question of whether he has got well or not!' In these sentences the suffixes convey a strong connotation of exasperated impatience or irritation.

The majority of the sentences which constitute the corpus of this study are, on the highest level of complexity, made up of one or more *predications*. Sentences containing one predication are said to be *simple*; sentences containing two or more coordinated predications are said to be *compound*; sentences containing a predication, or a functionally identical form, which is subordinated to another predication, are said to be *complex*.

The immediate constituents of a predication are a *topic* and a following *comment*. Any dislocation of this favorite order is significant and normally signals a shift of emphasis or a change with regard to the definiteness and indefiniteness respectively of nominal expressions included in the predication.

The topic and the comment are normally separated by an unarticulated pause, or by one of a limited set of pause particles.

In the following I shall give an outline sketch of such predications as may constitute sentences of category A.

A primary classification of such sentences into four major sub-types may be made by reference to the form class of the comment expression. The comment may be —

- (a) a nominal expression with or without modifying elements;
- (b) an adjectival expression with or without modifying elements;
- (c) a verbal expression with or without modifying elements;
- (d) an included predication.

The exponents of each of these major sub-types may be further subdivided on the basis of what modifying elements may or may not be included in the comment expression. In some instances the differentiation of sub-types must be based on some functional or structural characteristic of the topic expression.

NOMINAL EXPRESSIONS AS COMMENTS

The following sentences contain nominal expressions as comments: 82. *kin-thian li-pai-u* 'to-day is Friday'; 83. *tse-ko san-khuai khian* 'this one is three dollars'; 84. *tha i-kin san-suei °so!?* 'do you mean to say that he is already three years old!?';

85. *kin-thian tshai si-hau* 'it's only the tenth to-day'; 86. *tse-tsen kang-kang liang-tian tsong* 'it's just two o'clock now'.

It is evident from these examples that such comments normally consist of nominal measure expressions.

Nominal predications may be converted into verbal predications containing the copula-verb 87. *sī* and a following predicative complement.¹²⁾ Since nominal comments are not susceptible of negation this conversion becomes obligatory in negated sentences: 88. *kin-thian pu sī-te li-pai-u* 'to-day isn't Friday'.

It must be explicitly stated here that the occurrence of such forms, as elsewhere function as nominal expressions accompanied by such modifying elements as in other contexts do not occur with nominal expressions, is here treated as instances of functional variation. Thus, in the sentences below, the elsewhere nominal expressions *in-uen* 'English', *tau-te* 'virtue' and *thu* 'soil, earth' are regarded as adjectives by force of their colligability with such modifying elements as occur in adjectival expressions: 89. *thai pu in-uen la* 'it's very unidiomatic English'; 90. *tha thai tau-te-hen-la* 'she makes a far too ostentatious display of virtue', and 91. *tha thu te iau min* 'he is terribly rustic'. (For the terms *colligation* and *colligability* see H. F. Simon's *Two substantival complexes in Standard Chinese*, BSOAS, XV, 2, 1953).

ADJECTIVAL EXPRESSIONS AS COMMENTS

Adjectival expressions are either *comparative* or *non-comparative*. The distinguishing features of comparative adjectival expressions are their colligability with coverb phrases containing the coverb 92. *pi* 'than' and their capability of occurring as *x* in one of the following two patterns: 93. *"to-x*, or 94. *to-"x-li* 'to be extremely *x*'. The presence of the adjectival suffix *li* is conditioned by the stress pattern: the suffix is omitted when the form *to* has emphatic stress; in all other cases the suffix is invariably present.

Any form which may occur as *x* in the following two patterns

A 95. *tha pi ngi x* 'he is more *x* than you are', and

B 96. *tha to-x-li* 'he is extremely *x*'

will, in accordance with the definition given above, be classified as a comparative adjectival expression. The structural diversity of such *x* forms may be demonstrated by the following examples:

<i>x</i> form:	translation of patterns A and B:
1. <i>ta</i>	A. 'he is older (or bigger) than you'; B. 'he is extremely big'.
97. <i>to-tsuei</i>	A. 'he is more talkative than you are'; B. 'he is extremely talkative'.
98. <i>tshī-te</i>	A. 'he has a better appetite than you'; B. 'he has an extremely good appetite'.

¹²⁾ This type of predication will be described below.

99. *pha len* A. 'he is more sensitive to cold than you are';
 B. 'he is extremely sensitive to cold'.
100. *iou khian* A. 'he is richer than you are';
 B. 'he is extremely rich'.
101. *hiang tau sang-* A. 'he is more bent on going to Shanghai than you are';
 hai khie B. 'he is ardently wishing to go to Shanghai'.

Forms like 102. *tsou te khuai* 'walks fast' fits in with pattern A, whereas pattern B is converted into 103. *tha tsou te to-khuai-li* 'he walks extremely fast'.

The term *non-comparative* is applied to any adjectival expression which is not comparative.

In predications containing comparative adjectival expressions the favorite order of the two constituents is that of topic (subject) and comment (predicate). Emphatically stressed comments are normally dislocated. Such dislocated comments normally include one of the adverbs 104. *hau* 'how!; so!', or 105. *lang-ko*¹³ 'so!; to that extent!': 107. "*lang-ko* "se so, *tha* 'do you mean to say that he is as mean as that!?'; 108. "*hau* "kau ka, *la-ko zen* 'he is tall that fellow, isn't he!?'.

Certain adjectival expressions functioning as comments to an included predication as topic are placed either at the beginning or at the end of the sentence: 109. *ngomen tse-tsen khie ie kho-i* 'we can also go there right away'; 110. *ngi min-thian khie hau-i-tian* 'it would be better for you to go there tomorrow'; 111. *ngi kai to tshì tian ngiou-lai tshai tuei* 'you really ought to drink more milk'; 112. *tsuei-hau ma-sang huei-khie* 'we had better go back at once'.

The form *tsuei-hau* may also be inserted immediately after the topic of the included predication: 113. *ngi tsuei-hau pu iau li tha* 'you had better not pay any attention to him'.

Comparative adjectival expressions may be modified by coverb phrases containing as a first constituent one of the coverbs 92. *pi*; 114. *pi-°kan*; 115. *iou*; 116. *mo-iou*; *mei-iou*; 117. *me-te*; 118. *ken*; 119. *khian*; 120. *li*; 121. *ke*; 122. *tsou*. Such coverb phrases and various marked and unmarked modifying elements which may occur in conjunction with them, will be discussed in greater detail below. The discussion here is limited to such modifications as do not occur in conjunction with coverb phrases.

Adjectival expressions may be followed by the word suffix 123. *la* denoting a change of status: 124. *tha hau-la* 'he has got well'.

The resultant expression may be followed by a nominal measure expression indicating a desirable or undesirable excess: 125. *khian-thou tshang-la lang-ko to* 'the front [of the dress] has become that much too long'; 126. *ngomen iou lau-la i-ngian* 'I have again become one year older' (said by an old man on his birthday); 127. *ngomen to-la i-ko zen* 'we are one too many'; 128. *sau-la i-khuai khian* 'I am short one dollar'; 129. *tuan-la lang-ko to* 'it's that much too short; it has become that much shorter'.

¹³) The etymology reflected in the written form for *lang-ko* is my own. The following phonetic fusion is suggested: [**la-mo-ko* > **lam-ko* > *lang-ko*]. The contrast 106. *la-ko* (4th tone) 'that one': *la-ko?* (3rd tone) 'which one?' is matched by the contrast *lang-ko* 'to that extent': *lang-ko?* 'to what extent?'

The ambiguity reflected in the translations of the last sentence is normally eliminated by the situational context.

The suffix 130. *tau* denoting an actual realization of an undesirable event may be added to a restricted set of monosyllabic adjectives, such as 131. *luei* 'tired'; 132. *len* 'cold', and 133. *liang* 'cool': 134. *ngo luei-tau la* 'I am in fact tired'; 135. *ngo len-tau la* 'I am actually freezing'; 136. *ngo liang-tau la* 'I have caught a cold'.

The topic of such sentences is frequently preceded by the coverb *pa*:¹⁴⁾ 137. *pa ngo luei-tau la* 'I am actually tired' and 138. *pa ngo len-tau la* 'I am actually cold'.

The structural difference between these two sentences does not appear to be matched by any difference in meaning.

Certain monosyllabic adjectives have a restricted distribution, in that they always take the suffix 123. *la* when functioning predicatively. The predications in which they are included normally function as predicates of larger sentences:¹⁵⁾ 139. *tha ian-kin hia-la* 'he is blind'; 140. *tha er-to long-la* 'he is deaf'.

A personal pronoun denoting the second term of a comparison may be inserted between a monosyllabic adjective and a following measure expression: 141. *kie-kie ta ngo san-suei* 'my elder sister is three years older than I am'; 142. *tha kau ngo lang-ko to* 'he is that much taller than I am'.

This construction has been found only with the adjectives 1. *ta* 'to be old'; 10. *hiau* 'to be young' and 11. *kau* 'to be tall'. Such sentences are transformations of sentences like 143. *tha pi ngo ta san-suei* 'he is three years older than I am'.¹⁶⁾

Of the unmarked complements 145. *ki-la* and 146. *hen-la* 'extremely' the latter occurs only in conjunction with the adverb 147. *thai* 'too': 148. *tha thai phang-hen-la* 'she is far too fat'.

In subordinated clauses, however, this restriction no longer applies: 149. *luei-hen-la, kiou suei-pu-tso kiau* 'when you are too tired you can't go to sleep'; 150. *len-hen-la kiou pu hau-tshì* '[this dish] doesn't taste good when it has gone cold'.

Marked complements — complements which may be subordinated to a preceding adjectival head by means of the subordinating intra-relational particle 33. *te* — include the following types: the forms 151. *hen* 'very', 156. *to* 'much-er', complex verb expressions and included predications: 152. *ngo luei te hen* 'I am very tired'; 153. *ua-ua tsang te pu khiang ko-iang-tsi* 'the child is indescribably dirty'; 154. *ngo luei te ngiou-tu-ngiou-pu-tong* 'I am so tired that I can't even move'; 155. *tha lan te lian i-fu tu pu len tsi-ki tshuan* 'he is so lazy that he can't even dress himself'.

An endocentric construction has been defined as follows: of the two immediate constituents 'the constituent whose privileges of occurrence are matched by those of the constitute (=the resultant expression) is the head or the center; the other constituent is the attribute'.¹⁷⁾

¹⁴⁾ For this and other functions of the coverb *pa* see further below.

¹⁵⁾ For predications of this type — T/C (t—c) — see further below.

¹⁶⁾ Cf. the sentence 144. *tha tsang ngo lu-suei* 'he is six years my senior'.

¹⁷⁾ Charles F. Hockett, *A course in modern linguistics*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1958, p. 184.

Certain types of our adjectival predicates, however, contain adjectival expressions, which although apparently subordinated, determine the form class of the expression in which they are included. Examples of such expressions are predicates containing verbs modified by one of the adjectives 156. *to* 'much; more'; 157. *sau* 'little; less'; 158. *tsau* 'early; earlier'; 159. *uan*, and 160. *ngan* 'late; later': 161. *tha li fu-khin pi-°kan ngo li tsau-si-la liang-ngian* 'his father died two years before mine'; 162. *ngo pi ngi to-tshī-la liang-uan* 'I had two bowls [of rice] more than you had'.

Other instances of this anomaly are predicative expressions containing comparative adjectives joined to a preceding verb by means of the intra-relational particle 33. *te*: 163. *tha kiang te khuai* 'he speaks fast'.

Chao Yuan Ren states that, in Pekinese, a sentence like 164. *Ta shiee de hao* is ambiguous and can mean either 'what he writes is good, the way he writes is good' — he writes well', in which predication *Ta shiee de*, according to Chao Yuan Ren, is the subject and *hao* its predicate; or 'he can write well', in which case *de-hao* is a potential complement. Chao Yuan Ren also notes that the ambiguity does not obtain in the disjunctive questions 165. *Ta shiee de hao shiee bu hao?* 'can he write well?' and 166. *Ta shiee de hao bu hao?* 'does he write well?'¹⁸⁾

Chao Yuan Ren's analysis of these two sentence types has, no doubt, been partly influenced by the fact that the particles 27. *li* and 33. *te* are homophonous in Pekinese, both being pronounced [l̥ə]. His analysis, although it has proved extremely useful for teaching purposes, is not in every respect linguistically acceptable.¹⁹⁾

Since, in Sich'uanese, the particles 27. *li* and 33. *te* are phonetically clearly differentiated, and since the functions of these two particles never overlap Chao Yuan Ren's two-way analysis cannot be applied to the Sich'uanese sentence 167. *tha hie te hau* 'he does write well'; he can write well'. Compare the following sentences: 168. *tha-hie-li tui* 'what he writes is correct', and 169. *tha hie te tui* 'he does write well; he is able to write well'.

In the first of these sentences the particle 27. *li* is a nominalizing suffix serving to convert the predication *tha hie* 'he writes' into a nominal form, *tha-hie-li* 'what he writes'. In the second and ambiguous sentence the particle 33. *te* is either an intra-relational particle serving to join together the two immediate constituents of the predicate; 'he does write well', or a potential infix; 'he is able to write well'.²⁰⁾

We thus find that a form like *hie te hau* shares the privileges of occurrence not with *hie*, the head of the construction, but with *hau*, the subordinated attribute. In other words, *hie te hau* functions as a comparative adjectival expression, as will be seen from its colligability with such modifying elements as normally occur with adjectival heads: 171. *tha pi ngi hie te hau* 'he writes better than you do'; 172. *tha me-te ngi hie te hau* 'he doesn't write as well as you do'; 173. *tha hie te hau te to* 'he writes much better'.

¹⁸⁾ Chao Yuan Ren, *Mandarin Primer*, pp. 153—154. Cf. also Chao Yuan Ren and Yang Lien Sheng, *Concise Dictionary*, XXIX, foot-note 2.

¹⁹⁾ See Chu Te-hsi, *A Study of the Adjective in Modern Chinese*, Yü-yen yen-chiu, (Studies in linguistics) vol. I, 1956, pp. 104—105.

²⁰⁾ The potential infix 33. *te* and its negative form 170. *pu* will be discussed below.

Modifying attributes other than coverb phrases are normally placed immediately before the adjective: 174. *tha hie te fei-tshang-tsī hau* 'he writes exceedingly well'; 175. *tha hie te thai hau-hen-la* 'he writes exceedingly well'.

Another instance of a similar anomaly with regard to endocentric constructions has been quoted by Knud Togeby, who writes: 'dans certains cas, un mot qui se trouve à la place d'un déterminant (*these cars*, cp. *big cars*) peut jouer le rôle de l'unité entière (*these*). Il en est de même de *trois* dans *trois hommes*.'²¹)

Comparative adjectival expressions occurring without any modifying elements may be negated by one of the forms 170. *pu* 'not'; 176. *pin-pu* 'not at all'; 177. *pu-ta* 'not particularly', or 178. *pu-to-i*²² 'not very': 179. *tha pu-ta phiau-liang* 'she is not particularly pretty'; 180. *ngo pu-to-i su-fu* 'I am not feeling very well'.

The negation of such adjectival predicates as include coverb phrases will be discussed in detail below.

The structure of comparative adjectival expressions.

A number of sub-classes, varying in size, could be established on the basis of the capability of a given form to occur with particular modifying elements. The form 1. *ta* could ultimately be said to belong to an extremely restricted form class, the members of which may occur transitively, as in 141. *kie-kie ta ngo san-suei* 'my elder sister is three years older than I am'. The ultimate results of a thorough analytic investigation should be presented not in a grammar but in a lexicon, where all the functions of a given form could be concretely exemplified.

The structure of comparative adjectival expressions is extremely diversified. In the following I shall give a list of the major subtypes:

(a) monosyllabic adjectives, such as 182. *kuai* 'sweet; well-behaved, of children'; 183. *uai* 'wicked'; 184. *pen* 'stupid' and 185. *kiang* 'stubborn';

(b) di-syllabic expressions containing one or more otherwise free adjectives, such as the FF compounds 186. *kau-ta* 'tall and big'; 187. *hiue-pe* 'snow-white'; the FB compounds 188. *lan-to* 'lazy'; 189. *ze-ho* 'pleasantly warm' and the BF compounds 190. *ngin-se* 'stingy' and 191. *khi-kuai* 'strange';

The reduplication pattern of such expressions is *xyyy-li*. FF compounds are either coordinate, as 186., or attributive, as 187. above.

(c) di-syllabic expressions containing only bound forms, such as 192. *khe-po* 'mean'; 193. *phi-fa* 'exhausted'; 194. *hi-han* 'rare', and 195. *hiang-in* 'cheap';

(d) di-syllabic expressions containing the otherwise free noun *zen* 'man' as second constituent, such as 196. *°fang-zen* 'embarrassing'; 197. *hia-zen* or *he-zen* 'frightening'; 198. *hiau-zen* 'funny'; 199. *kiau-zen* 'ridiculous'; 200. *luei-zen* 'tiresome'; 201. *men-zen* 'depressing'; 202. *ngi-zen* 'sticky'; 203. *tshu-zen* 'rude', and 204. *tsuei-zen* 'intoxicating';

²¹) Knud Togeby, *Structure immanente de la langue française*, in Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Copenhague, vol. VI, Copenhague, 1951, p. 96.

²²) The etymology of the form *pu-to-i*, which is reflected in the written form is home-made and unconventional. The analogy with the form 181. *tsuei-uei* 'to be particularly ...' corroborates, in my opinion, the validity of this etymology.

(e) di-syllabic expressions containing the form *kho* as first constituent, such as 205. *kho-ngai* 'loveable'; 206. *kho-lian* 'pitiable', and 207. *kho-i* 'acceptable';

The di-syllabic expressions listed sub (b)–(e) above all have the stress pattern 2–1. Two exceptions have been found, viz. 208. *kho-khau* 'reliable' and 209. *kho-pha* 'frightening; frightful', which forms both have the stress pattern 1–2.

(f) di-syllabic expressions containing the otherwise free form *khi* 'air' as second constituent, such as 210. *ho-khi* 'amiable'; 211. *khe-khi* 'polite'; 212. *pau-khi* 'naïve'; 213. *sen-khi* 'proper' and 214. *su-khi* 'vulgar';

(g) di-syllabic expressions containing an otherwise free verb and the verb suffix *te*, such as 215. *tshī-te* 'able to eat', and 216. *tsou-te* 'able to walk';

Expressions listed sub (f) and (g) all have the stress pattern 2–0.

(h) di-syllabic expressions containing the otherwise free adjective *to* 'much' and a following noun, such as 217. *to-tsuei* 'talkative', and 218. *to-sī* 'meddlesome';

(i) di-syllabic expressions containing one of the otherwise free adjectives *hau* 'good; easy' and *lan* 'bad; difficult', such as 219. *hau-khan* 'pretty; easy to read'; 220. *hau-tshī* 'tasty; easy to eat'; 221. *lan-khan* 'ugly; hard to read', and 222. *lan-tshī* 'unsavoury; hard to eat';

(j) di-syllabic expressions containing the bound form *kin* as first constituent, such as 223. *kin-iong* 'long-lasting'; 224. *kin-sī* 'endurable'; 225. *kin-tsang* 'dirt-repellent'; 226. *kin tshī* 'long-lasting, of food', and 227. *kin-tshuan* 'long-lasting, of clothes';

(k) various other di-syllabic expressions containing an otherwise free verb as first constituent such as 228. *iong-hin* 'attentive'; 229. *iong-kong* 'diligent'; 230. *te-i* 'proud'; 231. *te-hin* 'clever'; 232. *tiau-tsuei* 'fastidious, of food'; 233. *tshe-ti* 'thorough', and 234. *tsong-iong* 'useful';

(l) verb-object expressions containing verbs like 235. *ngai* 'to be fond of'; 236. *pha* 'to be afraid of'; 237. *hiang* 'to feel like'; 115. *iou* 'to possess' as first constituents. The adjectival nature of such expressions has already been demonstrated above.

All di-syllabic expressions listed sub (h)–(k) have the stress pattern 1–2.

The structure of non-comparative adjectival expressions.

Non-comparative adjectival expressions are complex forms, the majority of which contain the suffix 27. *li*.²³⁾

Such expressions include the following major types:

(a) di-syllabic expressions containing one of a fairly limited set of 'intensifiers' as the first constituent and an otherwise free adjective as the second constituent. The first constituent normally carries emphatic stress. The emphatic stress may be shifted to the second constituent, in which case the suffix 27. *li* is invariably added. Such expressions are not normally reduplicated. When reduplicated the pattern is *xyxy-li*. Examples are 238. *fei-khuai* 'extremely fast'; 239. *fei-la* 'extremely hot, of peppery dishes'; 240. *hi-lan* 'extremely muddy'; 241. °*hiun-pe* 'intensely white'; 242. °*khiu-he* 'intensely dark'; 243. °*kiau-sī* 'wet through'; 244. °*kiau-han* 'extremely salty'; 245. °*kua-khu* 'intensely bitter'; 246. °*min-thian* 'extremely sweet'; 247.

²³⁾ This adjectival suffix which is normally written with the same character as the intra-relational particle *li* will be discussed further below.

pang-kin 'extremely tight'; 248. *pang-ngeŋ* 'extremely hard'; 249. *°phang-tsh ou* 'extremely smelly'; 250. *°phong-hiang* 'extremely fragrant', and 251. *thong-hong* 'intensely red'.

The intensifiers *°hiun*; *°khiu*; *kua*; *°min*; *°phang*; *°phong* are unique forms never found outside the expressions given above. Forms other than these, although capable of occurring outside the expressions given above, are, when used as intensifiers, restricted to these few expressions. The form 156. *to* resembles an intensifier but differs in that it may occur with any adjectival expression: 252. *uai-thou "khiu-he* 'it's terribly dark outside'; 253. *tse-ko tshai to-"la-li* 'this dish is extremely hot'; 254. *tha li tsuei-pa "to-ta* 'her mouth is extremely large'; 255. *tha li fa-wen to-"hau-li* 'her written French is exceedingly good'.

(b) Expressions containing a reduplicated bound form as a second constituent, such as 256. *hi-ua-ua-li* 'muddy; wet'; 257. *iou-ki-ki-li* 'greasy'; 258. *kiang-kwai-kwai-li* 'obstinate'; 259. *len-khi-khi-li* 'unpleasantly cold'; 260. *man-thai-thai-li* 'tardy'; 261. *man-ke-ke-li* 'sluggish'; 262. *ngai-khu-khu-li* 'short, of stature'; 263. *ngai-tsho-tsho-li* 'short, of stature'; 264. *pen-tsho-tsho-li* 'stupid'; 265. *si-pan-pan-li* 'starchy'; 266. *tsi-kang-kang-li* 'blunt, of temperament'; 267. *tsuei-pa-pa-li* 'talkative';

(c) fully reduplicated expressions, such as 268. *kan-kan-kin-kin-li* 'very clean'; 269. *ta-ta-fang-fang-li* 'very generous';

(d) partially reduplicated expressions, such as 270. *fu-li-fu-thu-li* 'stupid'; 271. *ki-li-ku-lu-li* 'unintelligible' (of speech); 272. *ku-li-ku-kwai-li* 'strange and oldfashioned'.

In the expressions listed sub (b)—(d) the first and third syllables normally carry strong stress.

(e) various coordinate expressions, such as 273. *iou kau iou ta* 'both tall and big'; 274. *pu-len-pu-ze* 'neither too hot nor too cold (just right)'; 275. *tau-ta-pu-ta-li* 'not particularly big'.

It is noteworthy that with the exception of the compounds listed sub (a) above, where the presence of the suffix 27. *li* is conditioned by stress, and expressions like 273. and 274. all non-comparative expressions listed above contain the adjectival suffix 27. *li*.

With the exception of expressions such as 274. and 275. non-comparative adjectival expressions listed sub (a)—(d) above are not normally negated. When occasionally negated the form 276. *pu-si-te* is invariably used.

Adjectival expressions containing the attribute 151. *hen* 'very' may be preceded by one of the negative forms 116. *mei-iou*; *mo-iou*; or 117. *me-te* 'not'. The same forms are used to negate any adjectival expression containing one of the suffixes 123. *la* or 130. *tau*.

VERBAL EXPRESSIONS AS COMMENTS

Verb-object expressions.

Verbal expressions as comments contain, as centre, a verb, which either operates alone or is included as head in various types of verb-object, verb-complement, or attribute-verb constructions. Such modifying elements as are particularly relevant to the theme of this paper will be described in detail below. Here the discussion will be limited to certain types of verb-object expressions.

The most characteristic feature of verb-object constructions is the remarkable diversity of the logical relations between the two constituents. This may be illustrated by the following examples: 277. *tha ta ngo* 'he beats me'; 278. *tha pu li ngo* 'he doesn't pay any attention to me'; 279. *ngo tu kian-ko tha-men* 'I have met them all'; 280. *er-thian ua-ua hio ngi liang-ko* 'in the future our baby will take you as his model'; 281. *ke ngo* 'give it to me'; 282. *ke ngo liang-ko* 'give me two (of them)'; 283. *ngi khie-ko sang-hai me-te?* 'have you ever been to Shanghai?'; 284. *ngi suei kau-thou °me ti-hia?* 'do you want the upper or the lower bed?'; 285. *ngo khie-pu-lai tse-tsong tau* 'I am not used to carve with this kind of a knife'; 286. *ngi kai-la phu-kai me-te?* 'are you covered by the quilt?'; 287. *ngo hi-pu-lai len-suei-lian* 'I am not accustomed to wash in cold water'; 288. *tha i-thian lian-la san-kian lan-pu-ser* 'in one single day she tailored three long gowns of blue cotton material'; 289. *tha su lu-lu-thou* 'he wears his hair parted'; 290. *tha lai-la san-thian la* 'he has been here for three days now'; 291. *ngi khu sa-tsi?* 'why do you cry?', and 292. *ngi hiau ngo sa-tsi?* 'why do you laugh at me?'.

We thus find that a nominal expression functioning as object may denote (a) the person (or thing) who (or which) undergoes the action denoted by the verb; (b) the person (or thing) towards whom (or which) the action is directed; (c) the person who receives something through the action; (d) the goal of the action; (e) the place of the action; (f) the instrument of the action; (g) the result of the action; (g) the duration of the action, and (h) an interrogation as to the cause of the action.

An attempt to classify all possible logical relations between the constituents of verb-object expressions would hardly serve a useful purpose. On the other hand, positional criteria alone are not sufficient for the determination of verb-object expressions, since, as we shall see presently, certain combinations of a verb and a following nominal expression are best treated as comment-topic expressions. The definition of verb-object expressions may therefore be based on the following negative criterion: such post-verbal nominal expressions as may not be defined as indefinite topics of comment-topic constructions constitute second constituents of verb-object constructions.

Verb-object expressions — and their immediate constituents — may be classified according to their capability to conform to transformation patterns. The following symbols will be used in the description of these patterns: *X* and *Z* denote nominal expressions, *V* is verb, and transcribed syllables denote the coverbs 293. *pa*, 294. *la-ken* etc.

One major transformation series contains the following five patterns:

1. *X V Z* : 2. *Z X V* : 3. *X Z V* : 4. *X pa Z V* : 5. *Z la-ken X V*

This transformation series may be illustrated by the following sentences:

- pattern 1. 295. *tha ta-lan la tse-ko pei-tsi* 'he broke this cup';
 pattern 2. 296. *tse-ko pei-tsi tha (ie) ta-lan la*; } 'he broke this cup too';
 pattern 3. 297. *tha tse-ko pei-tsi (ie) ta-lan la* }
 pattern 4. 298. *tha pa tse-ko pei-tsi ta-lan la* 'he broke this cup';
 pattern 5. 299. *tse-ko pei-tsi la-ken tha ta-lan la* 'this cup was broken by him'.

Investigating the capability of various verb-object expressions to conform to the transformation series 1.: 2.: 3.; 4.: 5. we find sentences which may conform to some but not to all of the patterns within this series. The ultimate result of such an investigation would be the establishment of more limited series, such as 1.: 2.: 3.: 4, 1.: 2.: 3. etc. and a complete description of the various types of sentences which conform to these patterns. An exhaustive treatment of these transformations lie outside the scope of this paper and the description will therefore here be limited to a few examples of some major patterns:

transformation series 1.: 2.: 3.: 4.:

pattern 1. 300. <i>ngi hau-sen khan-khan tse-ko tong-hi</i> ;	} 'you have a close look at this thing'.
pattern 2. 301. <i>tse-ko tong-hi ngi hau-sen khan-khan</i> ;	
pattern 3. 302. <i>ngi tse-ko tong-hi hau-sen kahn-khan</i> ;	
pattern 4. 303. <i>ngi pa tse-ko tong-hi hau-sen khan-khan</i>	

transformation series 1.: 2.: 4.: 5.:

pattern 1. 304. *tha khan-tau ngo la* 'he has seen me';
 pattern 2. 305. *ngo tha khan-tau la* 'he has seen me';
 pattern 4. 306. *tha pa ngo khan-tau la* 'he has caught sight of me';
 pattern 5. 307. *ngo la-ken tha khan-tau la* 'I was seen by him'.

transformation series 1.: 2.: 3.:

pattern 1. 308. *ngo khan-pu-lai tse-pen hiau-so*;
 pattern 2. 309. *tse-pen hiau-so ngo khan-pu-lai* 'I don't like to read this novel';
 pattern 3. 310. *ngo tse-pen hiau-so (ie) khan-pu-lai* 'I don't like to read this novel (either)'.

transformation series 1.: 4.:

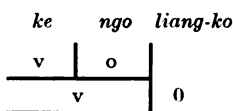
pattern 1. 311. <i>tha khan-tau ngo te</i>	} 'he keeps looking at me';
pattern 4. 312. <i>tha pa ngo khan-tau te</i>	

transformation series 1.; 2.:

pattern 1. 313. <i>ngo kian-pu-te tha la-tsong zen</i> ;	} 'I can't stand people like him'.
pattern 2. 314. <i>tha la-tsong zen ngo kian-pu-te</i>	

Certain verb-object expressions differ from the ones that have been discussed so far in that their first constituent in itself constitutes a verb-object expression. Examples are 282. *ke ngo liang-ko* 'give me two pieces' and 315. *ke ngo la-liang-ko* 'give me those two pieces'.²⁴⁾

²⁴⁾ The IC analysis of such verb-object expressions is shown by the following diagram:



The first of these sentences conforms to the transformation series 1.: 4.:

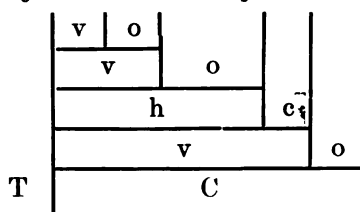
- pattern 1. 316. *ngi ke ngo liang-ko* 'you give me two pieces';
 pattern 4. 317. *ngi pa liang-ko (tu) ke (ke) ngo* 'you give me both of them'.

The second sentence conforms to the transformation series 1.: 2.: 3.: 4.:

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| pattern 1. 318. <i>ngi ke ngo la-liang-ko</i> ; | } 'you give me those two'. |
| pattern 2. 319. <i>la-liano-ko ngi ke ngo</i> ; | |
| pattern 3. 320. <i>ngi la-liang-ko ke ngo</i> ; | |
| pattern 4. 321. <i>ngi pa la-liang-ko ke (ke) ngo</i> | |

Linkverb constructions constitute a special subclass of verb-object constructions, in which the first constituents on three successive levels of IC analysis constitute verb-object constructions. The complexity of such constructions may be illustrated by the following IC diagram:²⁵⁾

322. *ngo kiau-tha- tshang- ko ko* 'I once taught her to sing'.



The transformation series 1. $X V Z$: 2. $X iong Z V$ may be illustrated by the following sentences:

- | | |
|---|--|
| pattern 1. 323. <i>ngo tshī khuai-tsī</i> ; | } 'I'll use chopsticks'; |
| pattern 2. 324. <i>ngo iong khuai-tsī tshī</i> . ²⁶⁾ | |
| pattern 1. 327. <i>tse-kian i-tin iau hi i-tsī</i> ; | } 'this garment must be washed with soap'. |
| pattern 2. 328. <i>tse-kian i-tin iau iongi-tsī hi</i> | |

In some instances transformations of this type are more complicated in that a complex object expression may be split and its constituents functionally differentiated in pattern 2. Examples are —

- | | |
|--|-------------------------------------|
| pattern 1. 329. <i>tha hi-huan hi len-suei-lian</i> ; | } 'he likes to wash in cold water'. |
| pattern 2. 330. <i>tha hi-huan iong len-suei hi lian</i> | |

The capability of a given verb-object expression to conform to various transformations is determined by the properties of either or both of its constituents; thus the transformation $X V Z$: $X pa ZV$ is determined by the following factors: (a) Z

²⁵⁾ Linkverb constructions will be further discussed below.

²⁶⁾ The distinction between sentences like 325. *ngo tshī hiau-uan* 'I'll use a small bowl', and 326. *ngo tshī tshang-mian* 'I'll have long noodles' rests in the fact that only the former sentence conforms to the transformation series 1. $X V Z$: 2. $X iong Z V$.

invariably has definite reference, and, (b) *V* includes a verb complement.²⁷⁾ A complete analysis of verb-object constructions must therefore include a description of such factors as determine the capability of verb-object expressions to conform to transformations.

The transformation series *X V Z : Z X V* is, on the level of constituent analysis, revealed as a structural change which may be represented as *T/C (v—o) : T/C (t—c)*. These two structures may be illustrated by the following two sentences: 333. *ngo khan-ko tse-pen su* (*X V Z : T/C (v—o)*) 'I have read this book', and 334. *tse-pen su ngo khan-ko* (*Z X V : TC (t—c)*) 'this book I have read'. The latter type of construction will be discussed further below.

The transformation series *X V Z : X Z V* may, on the level of constituent analysis, be interpreted either as *T/C (v—o) : T/C (t—c)*²⁸⁾ or *T/C (v—o) : T/C (o—v)*. The latter type of analysis seems preferable, since the structure *T/C (o—v)* is best regarded as a predictable inversion of the structure *T/C (v—o)*. The inverted structure is the favorite construction when nominal interrogative forms are included in non-interrogative sentences. Examples are 335. *tha sa-tsi tu pu so* 'he doesn't say anything'; 336. *ngo sa-tsi ti-fang tu mei-iou khie-ko* 'I haven't been anywhere', and 337. *ngo la-ko tu pu iau* 'I don't want any of them'. In such sentences the verb is normally modified by one of the adverbs 338. *tu* or 339. *ie* and the inverted object normally carries emphatic stress.²⁹⁾

Nominal expressions consisting of, or beginning with the numeral *i* 'one, and a following emphatically stressed classifier and functioning as objects in negated sentences normally occur as *Z* in the pattern *X Z V*. Examples are 341. *ngo i-"khuai khian tu me-te* 'I haven't got a single dollar', and 342. *ngo i-"ko tu mei-iou mai-ko* 'I didn't sell a single one'. In positive sentences the order is invariably that of *X V Z*, as in 343. *ngo tsi iou i-"khuai khian* 'I have only got one dollar', and 344. *ngi tshai tshi-la i-"uan fan* 'you have only had one single bowl of rice'.

Predications of the type *X Z V* often occur as constituents of compound sentences, as in 345. *ngo thian pu pha, ti pu pha, tsi pha si-tshuan zen so kuan hua* 'I am not afraid of Heaven, I am not afraid of Earth, I am only afraid of S'ich'uanese people who try to speak Northern Mandarin'.

²⁷⁾ A third determining factor is more elusive. An attempt has been made to define this factor as the particular effect of the verb upon the object, which 'designates a person, object, or situation on which the action denoted by the verb operates and which that action alters in position or structure' (See *Dictionary of Spoken Chinese*, (US) War Department Technical Manual, p. 26). The insufficiency of this definition may be seen from sentences such as 331. *ngi pa ngo hen-tau tsua-tsi?* 'why do you keep looking angrily at me?' and 332. *tha-men pa ngi khan-tau la* 'they have caught sight of you'. Sentences of the type *X pa Z V* will be discussed further below.

²⁸⁾ For this analysis see Chang Chi-kung, *op. cit.*, pp. 237—244.

²⁹⁾ In negated sentences containing an emphatically stressed topic the order is normally that of *X V Z : T/C (v—o)*, as in 340. *"tha tu pu so sa-tsi* 'he won't say anything'.

In all the instances of the transformation series $X V Z : X Z V$ given above we find that X denotes the actor and that Z denotes the undergoer, towards whom (or which) the action denoted by V is in some way or other directed. We thus find that the actor in these patterns always precedes the verb, whereas the undergoer in the same patterns either precedes or follows the verb. The transformation patterns of these sentences differ from the transformation patterns of those sentences, in which both X and Z denote potential actors, as in 346. *ngo kian-ko tha* 'I have met him', and 347. *tha kian-ko ngo* 'he has met me'. With such sentences the favorite transformation pattern is $Z X V$. This transformation is frequently found in compound sentences like 348. "*tha ngo kian-ko, tha ko-ko ngo hai mei-iou kian-ko* 'I have met him, but I haven't yet met his elder brother'.

When a verbal predicate contains both an object and a complement the resultant expression may take the form of a coordinate construction, as in 349. *ngi kin-thian khan su khan te thai to-hen-la* 'you have been studying far too hard today', and 350. *ngo tsou lu tsou-to la* 'I have been walking too much'.

Certain combinations of a verb and a following nominal expression are here treated as *comment-topic* expressions. Such expressions have the following characteristic features: (a) the verb, which has a general meaning of 'to appear' or 'to disappear' is invariably followed by the verb suffix *la* denoting completion of action, and, (b) the nominal expression has invariably indefinite reference. Inversion of the relative order of the constituents is always accompanied by a change from indefinite to definite reference of the included nominal expression, as may be shown by the following contrasting sentences: 351. *tsou-la san-ko hio-ser* 'three students have left', and 352. *hio-ser tsou-la* 'the students have left'. Constructions of this type will be discussed further below.

Linkverb constructions.

Linkverbs constitute a special sub-class of transitive verbs. In a conceptual analysis a nominal expression immediately following a linkverb is 'pivotal', in that it functions both as the object of the linkverb and as subject to an immediately following verb. The comparison of the following two sentences will serve to illustrate this type construction: 353. *ngo thin tha tshang ko* 'I hear her sing'; 354. *ngo kiau tha tshang ko* 'I teach her to sing'.

Although apparently identical these sentences may be shown to be structurally different: in the first sentence *tha tshang ko* is an included predication functioning as an object; in the second sentence the form *tha* may, in a conceptual analysis, be regarded as the object of the preceding linkverb *kiau* 'teach' and the subject of the following verb *tshang* 'sing'. This structural difference may be demonstrated with reference to the positional variation of the verb complement, 355. *ko*: 356. *ngo thin-ko tha tshang ko* 'I did hear her sing once'; 322. *ngo kiau-tha-tshang-ko ko* 'I did at one time teach her to sing'.

The position of the verb complement 355. *ko* shows the constituents of the linkverb

construction to be closely joined together. In a constituent analysis the whole of the comment constitutes a verb-object construction, the verb of which is the complex form *kiau-tha-tshang-ko* 'once taught her to sing'.

The most frequently occurring linkverbs are 357. *kiau* 'to teach'; 358. *kiau* 'to tell, to order'; 359. *han* 'to order'; 360. *lin* and 361. *sī* 'to make (someone do something)'; 362. *zang* 'to allow'; 363. *tsuen* 'to permit'; 364. *khiuan* 'to persuade'; 825. *pang* 'to help'; 365. *khin* 'to invite'; 366. *tho* 'to commission'; 367. *pie-tau*, 368. *°tsuai-tau* and 369. *ku-tau* 'to force'; 370. *la-pang*, 294. *la-ken* and 371. *ke* 'to let', and 372. *kai* 'it is for . . . to (do)'.

Examples of linkverb constructions are 373. *tha in-tau han tha ngiu-zen la-khie tang-la* 'he secretly told his wife to take it to the pawn-broker'; 374. *pa-pa han tha lai-ko* 'daddy told him to come here'; 375. *tha lin zen fa khi* 'he makes one angry'; 376. *ngo tshong-lai sī ngi sī-uang-ko °so!?* 'do you mean to say that I ever let you down!?'; 377. *tha i-kin tho zen khie tsu-ko mei la* 'he has already commissioned somebody to act as a go-between'; 378. *pu-iau ku-tau tha tshi!* 'don't force him to eat'; 379. *tha °tsuai-tau ngo khie* 'he forced me to go there'; 380. *ngo ke ngi khan* 'I'll let you have a look'; 381. *la-pang ngo khan!* 'let me have a look' and 382. *pu-iau la-ken hiau-ua-ua khan-tau* 'you mustn't let the children see this!'.³⁰⁾

Certain linkverbs may function as ordinary transitive verbs, as in 385. *ngi khiuan tha ma!* 'you persuade him!'; 386. *ngo kiau-ko tha* 'I did once teach her', and 387. *han tha* 'call him'. Other linkverbs do not normally occur outside linkverb constructions. Examples of such linkverbs are the forms 360. *lin* and 361. *sī*.

The verb 115. *iou* and its negated forms may function as a linkverb, as in 388. *iou zen so hua* 'somebody is talking; the [telephone] line is engaged'; 389. *me-te zen lai te* 'nobody is coming', and 390. *iou i-ko kia-tin lau-ki tshai so te ngou-zen* 'there was a rustic fellow from Kia-ting who made some extremely repulsive remarks'.

These constructions must be distinguished from such constructions as contain a transitive verb as a complement to a preceding verb-object expression, the verb of which is 115. *iou* or one of its negated forms: 391. *ngo-men iou hua so* 'we have got something to discuss'; 392. *tha-men kia-li me-te fan tshi te* 'they have got nothing to eat at home', and 393. *ngo iou sī tsu* 'I have got something to do'.

The copula-verb 87. *sī* may function as a linkverb, in which case the pivotal form function as predicative complement to the copula-verb and as subject to an immediately following verb; this construction is frequently employed in order to render the involved nominal expression emphatic. Examples are 394. *sī °ngo pa ngi tang-ko °so!?* 'do you mean to say that I am hindering you!?'; 395. *sī tha °fu-khin pu-iau tha khie* 'it's his father who doesn't want him to go there', and 396. *sī °ngi kau-su tha °to!?* 'but, surely, it was you who told him about it!?'.

Sentences containing the linkverb 87. *sī* frequently occur in included position, as objects to the verb *so* 'to say': 397. *so sī tha fu-khin sī la* 'I understand that his father is dead'.

³⁰⁾ The forms *la-pang*, *la-ken* and *ke* also function as coverbs and this functional variation occasionally gives rise to ambiguity, as in 383. *ngo ke tha-men khan-tau la* 'I showed it to them; I was seen by them'; 384. *tha la-ken hiau ua-ua khan-tau la* 'he showed it to the children; he was seen by the children'.

The form 372. *kai* in its occurrences as a linkverb is normally restricted to sentences without a subject, as in 398. *kai ngi fa* 'it's your deal', and 399. *kai ngo fu khian* 'it's for me to pay this bill'.

Several linkverbs may occur in the same sentence, as in 400. *ngo khiuan ngi pu-iau khin tha tau tse-li lai* 'I advise you not to invite him to come here'.

Predications containing the copula-verb 87. si 'to be' as a centre.

The favorite order of the ICs of these predications is that of topic and a following comment consisting of the copula-verb 87. *si* and a following nominal expression as predicative complement. Examples are 401. *tha si ngo i-ko hau-phong-iou* 'he is a good friend of mine'; 402. *tse-khuai si ngo-li* 'this piece is mine', and 403. *ngo-li si ta-li* 'mine is a big one'.

Dislocation of this order conforms to one of the following patterns: 404. *"ngo li tong-hi, tse-si* 'they are mine, these things', and 405. *si "tha li tong-hi, la si* 'they are his, those things'. Such dislocation is especially frequent when the topic is one of the demonstratives 406. *tse* 'this' or 407. *la* 'that'.³¹⁾

Nominal expressions functioning as topics in these sentences have definite reference regardless of their form. This may be illustrated by the following contrasting sentences: 413. *ta-li si ngo-li* 'the large ones are mine', and 414. *ngo-li si hau-li* 'mine is a good one'.³²⁾

The negated forms of the copula-verb are 276. *pu "si-te* and 417. *"pu si*: 418. *tse-ko pu "si-te tha-li* 'this one isn't his'; *pu "si-te* 'no, it isn't'; 419. *pu "si-te ngo so li* 'it wasn't I who said that'; 420. *tha-men "pu si hi-tsang-zen* 'they aren't Tibetans'; 421. *"pu-si tha* 'it isn't him'. As seen from these examples the selection of the negated form is determined by the stress pattern: in *pu "si-te* the copula-verb carries strong or emphatic stress; in *"pu si* the strong or emphatic stress is carried by the negative adverb *pu*.³³⁾

Modifying elements include the monosyllabic adverbs 339. *ie* 'also'; 338. *tu* 'entirely'; 423. *tshai* 'just'; 424. *tsi* 'only'; 425. *hai* 'still; after all'; 426. *kiou* 'actually', and 427. *kin* 'exclusively'. Examples are 428. *tha ie-si* 'he is the same; it's the same with him'; 429. *ngi tshai-si* 'that's what you are'; 430. *tha hai-si ngi li kie-kie* 'to

³¹⁾ These forms are intermediate between bound and free, in that they are incapable of occurring in isolation and yet capable of occurring as immediate constituents of syntactic constructions. When so occurring, they are normally placed at the beginning of the sentence or, as here, closely joined to the predicative centre. Examples of other normally bound nominal expressions, which are capable of occurring with a certain amount of freedom in syntactic constructions are 408. *ko* 'each; the various' and 409. *ko* '(a) piece'. The former form may occur as topic in sentences like 410. *ko ke ko-li* 'each one pays for himself', and 411. *ko tshi ko-li* 'each person provides his own food'; the latter form may occur as post-verbal object in sentences like 412. *ngo ie iau ko* 'I want one too'.

³²⁾ This contrast of definite versus indefinite reference may be compared to the contrast of selective and non-selective reference of interrogative words in the same positions: 415. *la-ko si ngi fu-khin?* 'which one [of these gentlemen] is your father?', and 416. *ngi fu-khin si la-ko?* 'who is your father?'.

³³⁾ Only the form *pu si* has been found in subordinated clauses, as in 422. *pu si ngi kiou si tha* 'if it wasn't you, then it was him'.

'but, surely, she is your elder sister after all'; 431. *kiou-si ngo-li* 'it's actually mine'; 432. *tsi-si ngo* 'it's only me'; 433. *tse-hi kin-si tha-li* 'these are all his'.

The adverb 338. *tu* 'entirely' is normally present in predications of the type 434. *i-ti tu-si hi suei* 'there is water all over the ground', and 435. *i-lian tu si khou-suei* 'saliva was smeared all over his face'.

The comment of these predications may also include a coverb phrase containing the coverb *ken* 'with', as in 436. *ngo tau pu ken tha liang-ko si hau-phong-iou!* 'I am definitely on very friendly terms with him'.

Comment-topic predications.

The favorite order of the constituents of such predications as have been discussed so far, has been that of topic and comment. Such instances of dislocation as have been noted have all been conditioned by the stress features of the predication.

In certain types of predications, however, the order of the constituents is regularly that of comment and topic. The constituents of such predications have the following characteristics: the verb functioning as comment is one of a restricted set of intransitive verbs denoting appearance or disappearance. Examples of such verbs are 437. *lai* 'to come, to appear'; 438. *khie* 'to go away, to disappear'; 439. *tsou* 'to leave, to disappear';³⁴⁾ 440. *tshu* 'to come out'; 441. *tshu-hian* 'to appear'; 442. *pu kian* 'to disappear'; 443. *tiau* 'to lose'; 444. *si* 'to die'. The verb in these cases is normally followed by the verb complement 123. *la* denoting completion of action and the phrase suffix *la* denoting a new situation is frequently present. The nominal expression functioning as topic invariably has indefinite reference regardless of its form.³⁵⁾

Examples of such predications are 447. *lai-la khe la* 'guests have arrived'; 448. *tsou-la to-sau zen?* 'how many people have left?'; 449. *tsi lai-la liang-ko* 'only two have appeared', and 450. *tiau-la ko khou-tsi* 'a button has come off'.³⁶⁾

Such predications frequently occur in included position, as comments to a preceding place expression as topic, as in 451. *lo-san, pu-hiau-te, si-la to-sau zen* 'it isn't known how many people died in Loshan', and 452. *la-pian iou lai-la liang-ko* 'two more [persons] came from that direction'.

³⁴⁾ Such complex verbal expressions as contain one of the forms *lai* 'to come', *khie* 'to go away', and *tsou* 'to leave' as second constituents, are also included in this category.

³⁵⁾ Nominal expressions are either definite or indefinite in form. Eo ipso definite nominal expressions include proper nouns, pronouns, the demonstratives 406. *tse* 'this', and 407. *la* 'that', and expressions containing one of these forms, and all ordinal expressions; nominal expressions other than these are formally indefinite. (For a systematic account of definite and indefinite nominal expressions see *Dictionary of Spoken Chinese*, War Department Technical Manual, 1945, p. 10.) Definite nominal expressions occasionally occur as topics of these comment-topic predications and must then be made formally indefinite by one of the forms *ko* or *i-ko* 'a': 445. *lai-la ko ngi 'so!*? 'so it was you who came', and 446. *tsong-kue tshu-la i-ko mau-tshe-tong* 'a Mao Tse-tung has appeared in China'.

³⁶⁾ Compare the indefinite reference of such topics with the definite reference of the following preverbal topics: *khe lai-la* 'the guests have arrived' and *khou-tsi tiau-la* 'the button has come off'.

Certain combinations of an intransitive verb and a following noun are structurally and functionally similar to comment-topic predications. Examples of such expressions, which may be best regarded as compound verbs, are 453. *tshu-hiue* 'to bleed'; 454. *sen-tshuang* 'to suffer from boils'; 455. *tshu-han* 'to perspire'; 456. *tsang-se-tsi* 'to be infested with lice'.³⁷⁾

Like comment-topic predications such expressions may function as comments to a preceding place expression as topic, as in 459. *tsuei-pa °i-thou tshu-hiue* '[he] is bleeding from the mouth'. The resultant predication may, in turn, function as comment in a larger predication, as in 460. *tha sou-per-sang sen-tin-tshuang* 'he suffers from boils on the palm of his hand'.

These verb-noun combinations differ from ordinary comment-topic predications in that they do not normally occur together with the verb suffix 123. *la*. Again, unlike comment-topic predications they frequently occur with the verb suffix 355. *ko* denoting a one-time occurrence in the past, as in 461. *ngi kio-per-sang sen-ko tong-per °so!?* 'do you mean to say that you once suffered from chill-blains on the soles of your feet!?'

A second sub-class of such verb-noun combinations include expressions like 462. *lo-iu* 'it's raining'; 463. *hia-hiue* 'it's snowing'; and 464. *tshu-thai-iang* 'it's sunny'. Such expressions frequently function as comments to a preceding time expression or place expression as topic, as in 465. *kin-thian tshu-thai-iang* 'today is sunny'.

Expressions containing the verb 115. *iou* or one of its negated forms and a following indefinite nominal expression constitute a sub-class of comment-topic predications. Examples are 466. *iou zen* 'there is someone [here]; this place is occupied'; 467. *iou pi tse-ko hiang-in i-tian li ma?* 'are there any a bit cheaper than this one?', and 468. *me-te iau-kuai te* 'there just aren't any witches; witches just don't exist'.

As seen from these sentences the verb 115. *iou* (or one of its negated forms) expresses the existence (or non-existence) of the object denoted by the following topic.³⁸⁾

These 'predications of existence' may function as included predicates in larger predications containing a place expression as topic. Examples are 469. *uai-thou iou zen* 'there is someone outside'; 470. *°i-thou me-te zen te* 'there is nobody inside'; 471. *o-mi-san-sang iou lau-fu* 'there are tigers on Mount Omei'. The resultant predication may, in turn, function as a comment of a larger predication, as in 472. *ngo sen-sang iou khian* 'I have got some money on me'.

The topic of 'predications of existence' has invariably indefinite reference, regardless of its form. Formally definite nominal expressions functioning as topics are

³⁷⁾ Some of these expressions have been found as resultative complements to verbs, as in 457. *ngo kio-per-sang tsou-khi-pher* 'I have got a blister on the sole of my foot from walking', and 458. *tha pa lau-kho phong-tshu-hiue la* 'he bumped his head, and it's bleeding'.

³⁸⁾ These predications have therefore aptly been termed 'predications of existence' to distinguish them from such predications as have been discussed above which may equally aptly be termed 'predications of appearance'. These terms were, as far as I know, first used by Chang Chi-kung, in his *Han-yü yü-fa ch'ang-shi*.

made indefinite by one of the forms *ko* or *i-ko* 'a', as in 473. *hua-hi hou-pa iou ko hie-ho tsong-hio* 'at the Back Campus of the West China Union University there is a Union Middle School'. The only exception to this rule follows the pattern exemplified in the following sentence: 474. *ngo-men kia-li iou tse-pen su* 'we have got a copy of that book at home'.

Emphatic dislocation may occur, as in 475. *"ta-li ie iou* 'there are large ones too', and 476. *"hong-iou kiau-tsi iou* 'yes, we have got meat dumplings in hot pepper sauce'.

Summarizing the observations made above we find that a comment-topic expression like 477. *iou khian* 'there is money' constitutes a 'predication of existence', which may function as a comment in a larger predication, such as 478. *sen-sang iou khian* 'there is some money on [my] person', and that this predication, in turn, may function as the comment of a still larger predication, such as 472. *ngo sen-sang iou khian* 'I have got some money on me'. We also find that the verb 115. *iou* may be substituted by a complex form, containing a verb and a following complement, 479. *te-iou*, denoting a steady state conceived as the result of a previously performed action. The patterns of inclusion of such complex *V-te-iou* expressions are the same as those of the simple verb 115. *iou*: 480. *tai-te-iou khian* 'there is some money carried'; 481. *sen-sang tai-te-iou khian* 'there is some money carried on [my] person', and 482. *ngo sen-sang tai-te-iou khian te* 'I have got some money on me'. We find in these sentences the same three levels of inclusion as with the verb 115. *iou* above.

A sentence like 481. *sen-sang tai-te-iou khian* could be formulated as *x V-te-iou y*, in which formula *y* denotes an indefinite object, which owes its existence in the place *x* to a previous performance of the action denoted by *V*. A freer translation of this formula would read as follows: 'y has been put (placed, written etc.) in (at, on) x and is still there'. Further examples of this construction are 483. *tso-tsi-sang pai-te-iou tsha* 'tea is served on the table'; 484. *hua-ian °i-thou tsong-te-iou ko-tsong hua* 'various flowers are planted in the garden'; 485. *kia-li kua-te-iou tse-tsang hua* 'in our home there hangs a copy of this painting'; 486. *khiang kau-thou hie-te-iou tsi* 'there are characters written on the wall'.³⁹⁾

The still larger predication type is exemplified by the following sentences: 488. *tha lau-kho-sang tai-te-iou mau-tsi* 'he wears a hat on his head'; 489. *kie-kie tso-tsi-sang kho-te-iou tha li hiang-phian* 'my elder sister has got his photograph on her table', and 490. *tha sen-sang tshuan-te-iou ta-i te* 'he wears an over-coat'.

Negation of verbal expressions.

The negated forms of the verb 115. *iou* are 116. *mo-iou*, *mei-iou*, and 117. *mo-te*, *me-te*. Unmodified verbs other than *iou* may be negated by the negative adverb 170. *pu* 'not'. With extended verbal expressions, the choice of a negative adverb is determined by the type of extension involved.

³⁹⁾ Indefinite nominal expressions functioning as topics of such included predications may be shifted to a preverbal position and will thereby be made definite: 487. *tsha pai tau tso-tsi-sang te*. For this see sentences 917. — 919.

The negative forms of the copula verb — 417. *"pu si* and 276. *pu "si te* 'is not' — have been described above.

The form 417. *pu si* negates verbs followed by the durative complement 491. *tau* and verbs modified by the preverb 492. *tsai* denoting progression of action: 493. *ngo pu si suei-tau* 'I am not lying down'; 494. *ua-ua pu si tsai khu, tha tsai so hua* 'the baby isn't crying, he is talking'; 495. *ngo-men pu-si tsai so ngi* 'we were not talking about you'.

Such verbal expressions may also be negated by one of the negative adverbs 116. *mei-iou*, *mo-iou*, as in 496. *ngo-men mei-iou tsai tsu sa-tsi* 'we aren't doing anything in particular', and 497. *tha mo-iou khu* 'he isn't crying'.⁴⁰⁾

A similarly conditioned variation between *pu* and *mei-iou* has been found with the verb 492. *tsai* as may be seen from the following contrasting pair of sentences: 499. *tha pu tsai kia* 'he isn't at home', and 500. *tha mei-iou tsai kia* 'he isn't at home'.

The forms 116. *mei-iou*, *mo-iou*, and 117. *mo-te* and *me-te* may function as negative adverbs.⁴¹⁾ These forms negate such expressions as contain one of the complements 123. *la* denoting completion of action, 355. *ko* denoting a one-time occurrence in the past, and 479. *te-iou* denoting a steady state resulting from a previously performed action. Examples are 501. *tha mo-iou lai* 'he hasn't come'; 502. *sang-hai ngo tu mei-iou khie-ko* 'I haven't even been to Shanghai'; 503. *ngo sen-sang mei-iou tai-te-iou khian te* 'I haven't got any money on me'.

The complement 123. *la* is always omitted and the other two complements are normally retained in the negated expression.

In A-not-A questions containing a *V-te-iou* expression the patterns are either *V pu V-te-iou?* or *V-te-iou me-te?*, of which the latter occurs by far the most frequently.

Since the notions of result and completion of action are closely inter-related, verbs followed by resultative complements are normally negated by the negative adverb 116. *mei-iou* or equivalent forms: 504. *fan hai mei-iou tsu-su* 'the rice isn't ready yet'.

Such expressions may also be negated by *pu*, in which case the resultant expression is best translated by 'insist on not performing' or 'intentionally avoid performing the action' denoted by the verb: 505. *tha ngen-si pu tsu-kuei-i* 'he insists on not doing it to my satisfaction'. This type of construction appears to be especially frequent in subordinated clauses, as in 506. *pu tso-hau pu ke ngi tong-hi tshi* 'if you insist on not sitting properly [at the dinner table] you won't have anything to eat'.

The negative forms 507. *mo*, 508. *pie* and 509. *pu-iau* (often contracted into *piau*) 'don't' are used in commands, as in 510. *mo mang!* 'don't hurry!'; 511. *mo luan so!*

⁴⁰⁾ This sentence was recorded as an answer to the question 498. *tha hai tsai khu mo-iou?* 'is he still crying?'.

The distinction between these two types of negation has been explained by Chao Yuan Ren who describes the corresponding Pekinese constructions as follows: 'The negative of a verb with the progressive suffix *-j* takes *mei* (.yeou) or *bu.sh* according as the denial is applied to the fact or to the content. *Woo mei denqj yeal* 'I was not staring': *Woo bu.sh denqj yeal* 'I was not staring (but doing something else)'. See *Mandarin Primer*, p. 58.

⁴¹⁾ The functional variation of the verb 115. *iou* and its negated forms will be described in detail below. The forms *mo-te* and *me-te* are the most frequently occurring privative verbs, but rarely function as negative adverbs to verbs. This restriction does not apply, however, to A-not-A questions of the type *V-la me-te?*

'don't talk nonsense!'; 512. *pie kin-tau lau!* 'don't keep on making such a disturbance!'; and 513. *pu-iau so tha!* 'don't tell him off!'.
 Such expressions as are not negated by 116. *mei-iou* or equivalent forms, may be negated by 170. *pu*; 176. *pin-pu*; 177. *pu-ta*, and 178. *pu-to-i* 'not; not at all; not particularly' and 'not very' respectively.⁴²⁾ Examples are 514. *ngo pin-pu iau* 'I

⁴²⁾ Note that the Pekinese form *buh-heen* 'not very; not particularly' has no direct counterpart in Sīch'uanese.

don't want it at all'; 515. *tha phin-si pu-ta so hua* 'he doesn't normally talk very much'; 516. *tha pu-to-i so hua* 'he doesn't talk very much'.

The form 170. *pu* may function predicatively, as in 517. *tha tau pu* 'he, for one, certainly wouldn't!', and 518. *ngo pu la* 'I have given up that idea'.

INCLUDED PREDICATIONS AS COMMENTS

Predications may be included as constituents of larger predications. An included predication may function (a) as one of the ICs of a larger predication, (b) as the subordinate constituent of attribute-head, head-complement, and verb-object construction, (c) as a subordinate clause or as an IC of a subordinate clause and (d) as an IC of a compound sentence.

Here the discussion will be limited to included predications functioning as comments of larger predications⁴³⁾ i. e. to sentences having the structure T/C (t—c).

The sentence 519. *tha thou-fa to-hau-khan-li* 'as for her, the hair is very beautiful' can be analysed as a topic *tha* and a following comment, *thou-fa to-hau-khan-li*, which, in turn, can be analysed into a topic, *thou-fa*, and a following non-comparative adjectival expression, *to-hau-khan-li*, as comment.

It must be noted here that a sentence like 520. *tha fu-khin to-lau-li* may be ambiguously interpreted as either 'his father is very old', in which case *tha fu-khin* is regarded as an unmarked attribute-head expression functioning as the topic of the sentence, or as 'as for him, the father is very old', in which case *tha* is regarded as the main topic of the sentence and the rest as an included predication functioning as comment. In such sentences the location of the pause may be used as a criterion for the determination of the structure involved. The following sentence is therefore not ambiguous: 521. *tha me, phi-khi hen ta* 'he has got a nasty temper'.

Both nominal, adjectival and verbal expressions may occur as comments of the included predication. Instances of included nominal predications are less frequent. The corpus includes a few sentences of the following type: 522. *tha-men ler i-khuai khian liang-ko* 'at that other shop they charge you two dollars a piece' (lit.: 'as for them there, two dollars are one piece').

Examples of included adjectival predications are 523. *tha-men tsu li ti-fang pang-khe* to 'the place where they live is infested with robbers'; 524. *tha kie-kie phi-khi ta*

⁴³⁾ Other functions will be described sub *Non-predicative functions of included predications*, *Coordinating conjunctions and compound sentences* and *Subordinating conjunctions and clause subordination*.

te iau min 'his elder sister has a terribly nasty temper'; 525. *ngo uei-khou pu hau* 'I have no appetite'; 526. *ngo uei pu su-fu* 'my stomach is giving me trouble'; 527. *ngi tshong-lai lian mei-iou la-mo khin-ko* 'never before have you had such a sickly complexion'; 528. *tha iang-tsi hia-zen-°pha-°sa-li* 'his whole appearance is terribly frightening'; 529. *hio-sen me, tse-hi phi-khi tsuei huai* 'those fits of temper amongst the students are simply deplorable', and 530. *tha-men liang-ko kuai-fa pu thong* 'they are both well-behaved, but in different ways' (lit.: 'as for the two of them, the ways of being good are different').

The occurrence of various verbal predications as included comments is exemplified by the following sentences: 531. *tha i-lian tu si khou-suei* 'he has got saliva smeared all over his face'; 532. *ngo i-sen tu si hi suei* 'I am absolutely soaked through'; 533. *la-ko uai-hian-zen lian-se i-ha pian te to-lan-khan-li* 'that fellow from another hsien suddenly got a very ugly look on his face'; 534. *tha iang-tsi pian la* 'his manners have changed'.

Predications of the comment-topic type frequently function as included comments. Examples are 535. *tshen °i-thou si-la hen-to zen* 'a lot of people died in the city'; 536. *hiang-hia tshu-la hen-to iau-ian* 'lots of rumours have arisen in the countryside'; 537. *ta-i kau-thou tiau-la ko khou-tsi* 'a button has come off my overcoat'; 538. *tshuang ti-hia tsuan-tshu i-thiau kou lai* 'a dog appeared wriggling out from under the bed', and 539. *hou-men phau-kin ko tsuei-ua-tsi lai* 'a thief came running in from the back gate'.

The following sentences contain, as comments, such verb-noun combinations as were illustrated by the examples 453.—456.: 540. *lau-kho-sang tsang-se-tsi* '[his] hair is infested by lice'; 541. *tu-tsi °i-thou sen-tshong* '[he] suffers from intestinal worms'. Such predications are normally included as comments of larger predications, as in 542. *tha kio-per-sang sen-tong-per* 'he suffers from chillblains on the soles of his feet'.

In all the sentences given above the topic of the sentence happens to be also the subject and the comment the predicate. In one particular type of sentence structure, however, which contains an included predication as comment we find that the main topic is not the subject but the *object* of the verb in the included predication.⁴⁴⁾

There are two main sub-types of this construction, depending on whether the order of the constituents is reversible or non-reversible. The sentence 543. *la-hi zen ngo tu zen-te* 'those fellows I all know' may be converted into 544. *ngo tu zen-te la-hi*

⁴⁴⁾ Cf. Charles F. Hockett, who writes: 'The most general characterization of predicative constructions is suggested by the term "topic" and "comment" for their ICs: the speaker announces a topic and then says something about it. Thus *John/ran away*; *That new book by Thomas Guernsey/I haven't read yet*. In English and the familiar languages of Europe, topics are usually also subjects, and comments are predicates: so in *John/ran away*. But this identification fails sometimes in colloquial English, regularly in certain special situations in formal English, and more generally in some non-European languages' . . .

'When the topic and comment of a predicative constitute are not also the subject and the predicate, then usually the comment in turn is a predicative constitute consisting of subject and predicate. In *That new book by Thomas Guernsey/I haven't read yet*, the comment consists of subject *I* and predicate *haven't read yet*'. (*A Course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 201—202.)

zen 'I know all those fellows'. Other examples of reversible constructions are 545. *tha la-tsong zen ngo tsuei kian-pu-te* 'I thoroughly dislike people of his kind', and 546. *tse-ko ho-lu ngo kan-la hau-ki ngian la* 'I have been at this job now for quite a number of years'.⁴⁵⁾

In non-reversible constructions the topic is normally one of the bound demonstratives *tse* 'this' or *la* 'that', as in 547. *tse ngi tu pu hiau-te °so!?* 'do you mean to say that you don't even know this!?', and 548. *la ngo pu kuan* 'that I won't bother about'.

It is interesting to note that sentences containing an initial *la* 'that' are frequently ambiguous, as may be shown by contrasting the two possible translations of the last sentence: 'that I won't bother about', and 'in that case I won't bother'. In the sentence corresponding to the first translation the form *la* functions as a topic; the Chinese sentence corresponding to the second translation is complex and contains a subordinated form, *la* 'in that case', and a following clause, *ngo pu kuan* 'I won't bother'. This subordination may be formally marked by the presence of the adverb *kiou* 'then' in the main clause, as in 549. *la ngo kiou pu kuan* 'in that case I won't bother'.

Non-predicative functions of included predications.

Examples of included predications functioning as subjects have been given above.⁴⁶⁾ Another example is 550. *kio-tsi-mer-sang sen-tong-per tsuei iang* 'chillblains on your toes itch terribly'.

Examples of included predications functioning as objects are 551. *ngo i-uei tha si ngi thai-thai* 'I thought she was your wife'; 552. *ngi me-tau ngo pu hiau-te °so!?* 'do you mean to say you reckoned that I didn't know!?'; 553. *tha-men me-tau ngo ma tha-men si kuang-kuang* 'they reckoned that I abused them and called them simpletons'; 554. *ngo tshong-lai kio-te thian-khi mei-iou lang-ko huai-ko* 'never before, I think, has the weather been as bad as this'; 555. *i-ko er-ko tu so tshen-tu pu tuei* 'one after the other, they all made deprecatory remarks about Ch'engtú'; 556. *tha so tshen-tu-zen tsuei °suei-li* 'he said that the people of Ch'engtú are all very crafty'; 557. *thin so tha to-phiau-liang-li* 'I understand that she is very pretty'; 558. *ngo tsuei pha kio-per-sang sen-tong-per* 'I am most afraid of getting chillblains on the soles of my feet'; 559. *ngo la-tsen hiang-tau tha si i-fan hau-hin* 'at that time I thought that his intentions were all good'; 560. *ngo hiau-te tha pu ngai ngo la* 'I know he doesn't love me any more', and 561. *ngi hi-han tha khie °so!?* 'do you mean to say that you are surprised that he went there!?'.

Included predications may further function as marked complements to adjectives and verbs, as in 562. *tha-men lau-te ngo i-uan-sang tu suei-pu-tso kiau* 'they made such a disturbance that I couldn't sleep for the whole night', and 563. *ngo len te i-sen tu fa thou* 'I am so cold that I shiver all over'. Occasionally, predications may be

⁴⁵⁾ In this sentence the transformation formula is somewhat different, due to the fact that the verb in the transformed sentence is followed by both an object and a complement: *ngo kan tse-ko ho-lu kan-la hau-ki ngian la*.

⁴⁶⁾ See sentences 109.—111.

found as unmarked complements and then always in constructions of the following type: 564. *ua-ua thu ngo i-lian sī khou-suei* 'the child spat saliva all over my face'. Such sentences may be subjected to the following types of transformations: 565. *tha thu ngo i-lian li khou-suei* 'he spat saliva all over my face'; 566. *tha pa i-lau-kho ke ngo long hi kiuan-kiuer* 'he (the hairdresser) made curls all over my head'; 567. *tha pa ngo i-sen tu tsha hi ngi-pa* 'he smeared mud all over my body'; 568. *tha pa ngo i-sen tu tsha hi sī* 'he smeared some all over my body', and 569. *tha pa suei long te ngo tau-tshu tu sī hi* 'he splashed the water all over me'.⁴⁷⁾

Included predications functioning as attributes in nominal expressions are always marked, as in 571. *tha kiang li thong-hua to-hau-thin-li* 'the fairytales that he tells are extremely beautiful'.

Sentences containing parenthetical forms.

The following sentences all contain parenthetically included verbal expressions: 572. *tha, khan-te-tshu, sī ko hau-hio-ser* 'you can see that he is a good student'; 573. *tha, so-pu-tin, min-thian lai* 'perhaps he'll come tomorrow'; 574. *ngo, iou i-ko si-hou, pu su-fu te hen* 'at one time I felt terribly bad'; 575. *tha, pu hiau-te, tau ler khie la* 'I don't know where he's gone to'; 576. *ngo, khong-pha, uan-khiuan iau ta-ko, ten i-her* 'I am afraid I'll have to do this knitting all over again, in a while'; 577. *tse-ko, fu-tse, sī tsen-li* 'this one, I guarantee, is a genuine one', and 578. *tha, me-te la-i tshī, pu ke ngo-men hiau-ua-ua tai li-wu* 'on every single occasion did he bring some presents for us children'. These sentences may be compared with the following, where a dislocated form is added at the end of each sentence: 579. *ngi kian-tsī me-te kuei-kiu te, iue-lai-iue* 'you have been getting more and more undisciplined, lately'; 580. *tha phi-khi ta te iau min, tse-tsen khai-sī* 'he has developed a very nasty temper, recently', and 581. *ngi la-khie mo, pa la-ko* 'take it away, that thing'.

SENTENCES OF CATEGORY B.

The distinguishing features of these sentences are (a) that they contain interrogative words and (b) that they have colligability with one of the sentence suffixes 58. *le* or 59. *li*.

Since the structure patterns of these sentences match those of sentences belonging to category A, the discussion will here be limited to a description of interrogative words and their function within the sentence.

The most frequently occurring interrogatives are the nominal forms 582. *sa-tsī?*; 583. *sa?*, and 584. *sen-mo?* 'what?'; 585. *la-ko?* and 586. *suei?* 'who?'; 587. *la-li?* and 588. *ler?* 'what place?, where?'; 589. *ki?* 'how many?'; 590. *to-sau?*; 591. *to-sau-tsī?*,

⁴⁷⁾ No detailed analysis will here be given of these sentences. The following points are worthy of notice: nominal expressions preceded by the coverb 293. *pa* have definite reference, whereas those preceded by the form 570. *hi* have indefinite reference. Interesting are also the two different functions of *hi* in sentences 568. and 569.

and 592. *hau-to?* 'how many?; how much?'; the adverbial forms 593. *tsa-ko?*; 594. *lang-ko?*; 595. *hau?*, and 596. *to?* 'how'; 597. *hau-kiou?* and 598. *to-kiou?* 'when?, how long?', and 599. *ho-pi?* 'why necessarily . . '.

582. *sa-tsi?* 'what?' may constitute a complete utterance: 'what?; what's the matter?'. The main functions of *sa-tsi?* within the sentence are described in the following sentences: 600. *ngi iau sa-tsi?* 'what do you want?'; 601. *ngi khu sa-tsi?* 'why are you crying?'. The verb-object expression 602. *tsu sa-tsi?* 'to do what?' is frequently contracted into *tsua-tsi?*, as in 603. *ngi tsua-tsi?* 'what are you doing?', 'what's the matter with you?', and 604. *ngi hou tha tsua-tsi?* 'what are you yelling at him for?'. This contracted form appears to have a strong connotation of irritation.⁴⁸⁾

As object *sa-tsi?* is sometimes preceded by the bound form 570. *hi*, as in 605. *ngi so hi "sa-tsi?* 'what are you talking about?'

606. *la si sa-tsi?* 'what's that?'; 607. *sa-tsi, tse-si?* 'what's this?'; 608. *ngi uei sa-tsi pu khie?* 'why don't you go there?'. The form *uei sa-tsi?* may be substituted by 609. *sa-tsi si?*, as in 610. *ngi sa-tsi si pu khie?* 'why don't you go there?'. The two verb-object expressions given above — 600. and 601. — are potentially different, since only the latter may be transformed into 611. *ngi sa-tsi si khu?* 'why do you cry?'; *sa-tsi?* is rarely found as a topic. It may occur included in appositive coordinations of the type 612. *sa-tsi zen?* 'what person?'.
The bound form 583. *sa?* has been found in 613. *sa-khuai?* 'who?; what person?' and as object to the verb *hin* 'to be surnamed': 614. *ngi hin sa?* 'what's your surname?'⁴⁹⁾.

584. *sen-mo?* 'what?' occasionally substitutes for *sa-tsi?* in any of the functions described above.

585. *la-ko?* 'who?' and 616. *la-i-ko?* may function as topic to the verb *si* 'to be' and have then a selective reference which is not present in other functions: 617. *la-ko si tha fu-khin?* 'which one [of these gentlemen] is his father?'; 618. *tha fu-khin si la-ko?* 'who is his father?'. Other functions of this form include that of object, as in 619. *ngi so-li la-ko?* 'whom are you talking about?'; that of constituent of coverb phrases, as in 620. *ngi ken la-ko khie la le?* 'with whom did you go there?'. *la-ko?* also occurs in nominal appositive expressions, as in 621. *la-ko zen?* 'what person?'.
The bound form *la?* participates in the interrogative words 587. *la-li?* and 588. *ler?* 'what place?, where?' and 594. *lang-ko?* 'how?, to what extent?', and also functions as an interrogative determinative, as in 622. *la-liang-ko zen?* 'what two persons?'

586. *suei?* 'who?' is a rare substitute for *la-ko?*. The forms 623. *suei-ko?* 'who?' and 624. *suei-zen?* 'what person?' each occur once only in the corpus.

587. *la-li?* and 588. *ler?* 'what place?, where?' function as nominal place expressions.

⁴⁸⁾ This is the only instance, within the corpus, of a phonologically simple form having a syntactically complex structure.

⁴⁹⁾ This form has been recorded in the following dialogue which belongs to a children's game: 615. *ngi hin sa? ngo hin Ma. sa-tsi Ma? khi ma. sa-tsi khi? . . .* 'what's your surname? I am surnamed *Ma*. Which particular *Ma*? The *Ma* which occurs in conjunction with the form *khi* ('to ride on horse back'). Which particular *khi*? . . .'

The form 589. *ki?* 'how many?' occurs in expressions of the type 625. *ki-ko zen?* 'how many people?'; 626. *ki-suei?* 'how many years [old]?', and in *ki-si?* 'when; at what time?', as in 627. *ngi ki-si lai?* 'at what time will you come here?';

The forms 590. *to-sau?*; 591. *to-sau-tsi?*, and 592. *hau-to?* 'how much, how many?' occur either alone or included in nominal appositive expressions, such as 628. *to-sau khian?* 'how much money?'; 629. *to-sau-tsi zen?* 'how many people?', and 630. *hau-to-ko?*; 631. *to-sau-ko?* 'how many pieces?'. When followed by classifiers or measures, as in the last two examples, the resultant expressions are normally restricted to a post-verbal position, functioning either as objects, as in 632. *ngi iau to-sau-ko?* 'how many do you want?', or as complements denoting frequency of occurrence, as in 633. *ngi lai-la to-sau-tshi?* 'how many times have you been here?'.⁵⁰

593. *tsa-ko?* 'how?' may function as a predicative complement, as in 634. *si tsa-ko le?* 'how is that?'; as a comment, as in 635. *ngi tsa-ko le?* 'what's the matter with you?', and adverbially, as in 636. *ngi tsa-ko pu so le?* 'how comes you won't tell?'.⁵⁰

594. *lang-ko?* 'how?', to what extent?' may function as a comment, as in 637. *tha lang-ko le?* 'what's the matter with him?'; as a predicative complement, as in 638. *si lang-ko li, tse si?* 'what's the matter with this?', and adverbially, as in 639. *ngi lang-ko pu hiau-te le?* 'how come you don't know?'.⁵⁰

The forms 595. *hau?* and 596. *to?* 'how?' function as modifiers to comparative adjectival expressions. The resultant expression is normally preceded by the verb *iou*, as in 640. *tha iou to-ta?* 'how old is he?'.

The forms 597. *hau-kiou?* and 598. *to-kiou?* 'when, at what time; how long?' function either adverbially, as in 641. *ngi hau-kiou khie?* 'when will you go there?', and 642. *ngi hau-kiou ke ngo so la li?* 'whenever did you tell me that?', or post-verbally, as complements denoting duration of time, as in 643. *ngi lai-la hau-kiou?* 'how long have you been here?'.

The form 599. *ho-pi?* 'why necessarily . . .?' functions adverbially, as in 644. *ngi ho-pi ma-sang khie li?* 'why do you have to go there right away?'.

SENTENCES OF CATEGORY C.

Sentences belonging to category C are either (a) disjunctive questions or (b) A-not-A questions.

Disjunctive questions constitute alternative coordinate expressions, the coordinate construction of which may be unmarked or marked by one of the intra-relational particles 19. *hai-si*, 20. *hue-tse*, or °*me* 'or'. Of these particles, the last occurs most frequently.

Unmarked coordination is relatively rare. A few instances occur as 645. *ngi min-thian khie hou-thian khie?* 'will you go to-morrow or the day after to-morrow?'.

Nominal and adjectival comments do not normally participate in this particular type of alternative coordination; the corpus includes a few instances, such as 646.

⁵⁰ *lang-ko?* is sometimes used in disjunctive questions. For examples of this usage see below sentences 653.—655.

tse-ko san-khuai °me si-khuai?, 'does this one cost three dollars or four dollar?' and 647. *ngi-li ta °me hiau?* 'is yours large or small?'. Such questions normally take the forms 648. *tse-ko si san-khuai °me si-khuai?* and 649. *ngi-li si ta-li °me hiau-li?*.

Such constructions may include the whole of the comment, as in 650. *ngo-men tsou lu °me tso tshe-tsi?* 'shall we walk or take a ricksha?', or only such nominal expressions as may be included in the comment, as in 651. *ngi iau ta-li °me hiau-li?* 'do you want large ones or small ones?', and 652. *ngi ta li mau-hian-i si °long-li °me khai-li?* 'are you knitting a pullover or a cardigan?'.⁵¹

The interrogative words 594. *lang-ko?* and 582. *sa-tsi?* may occur as the second constituent of the coordinated expression, as in 653. *ngi tshì tsuei la °me lang-ko?* 'are you drunk or what?'; 654. *ngi uei-pi pa khian iong uan tshai su-fu °me lang-ko?* 'so you have simply got to spend all the money before you are satisfied, is that the big idea?'; 655. *uei-pi ngi pa ngo ie tshì la tshai su-fu °me lang-ko?* 'so you won't be satisfied until you have eaten me too, is that it?', and 656. *ngi me-tau ngo hai pha ngi °me sa-tsi?* 'do you reckon that I am still afraid of you or what?'.⁵²

'A-not-A questions are disjunctive questions in which the choice is between something and its negative'.⁵¹)

The alternative coordinate construction involved in such questions is always unmarked. Since such constructions contain, as a first constituent, the negatable centre of the comment expression and, as a second constituent, the negated form of this same centre, nominal expressions do not participate in these constructions.

With predicative expressions larger than one syllable this question pattern is normally executed on the first negatable form, as in 657. *ngi sou kan-pu-kan kin?* 'are your hands clean?'; 658. *ngiou-lai tsang-pu-tsang phang?* 'is milk fattening?'; 659. *ngi kan-pu-kan kin-khie?* 'do you dare to go in there?'; 660. *ngi sang-pu-sang-lai?* 'will you come up here?', and 661. *ngi sang-pu-sang-lai-te-tau?* 'will you be able to get up here?'.⁵²

With the verb *si* 'to be' the question pattern is *si-pu-si*,⁵²) as in 662. *tse-ko si-pu-si ngi-li?* 'is this one yours?'.⁵³

The form *si-pu-si* also functions as a sentence suffix and is then always unstressed and atonal: 663. *ngi to-hiang-khan-tha-li, si-pu-si?* 'you would very much like to see her, wouldn't you?'.⁵³) The form may also be used parenthetically, as in 664. *ngi si-pu-si la-ken tha-men khan-ko?* 'did you show it to them?'.⁵³

The interrogative forms of the verb *iou* 'to have'; there is' are 665. *iou mei-iou?*; *iou mo-iou?*; 666. *iou mo-te?*, and *iou me-te?*. When any of these forms functions as a privative verb or as a linkverb the phrase suffix 33. *te* is normally added at the end of the sentence, as in 667. *ngi iou me-te khian te?* 'have you got any money?', and 668. *kin-thian uan-sang iou me-te khe lai te?* 'are there any guests coming tonight?'.⁵³

The negated constituent of the construction is frequently placed last in the sen-

⁵¹) Chao Yuan Ren, *Mandarin Primer*, p. 59.

⁵²) It has already been noted above that the negated form of this verb is 276. *pu si-te* unless the negative adverb is emphatically stressed, in which case the negated form is *pu-si*.

⁵³) The sentence suffix *°so!* is probably a contracted form derived from *si-pu-si o!*.

tence, as in 669. *tha-men kia-li iou iong-zen me-te?* 'have they got any servants in their family?'.

When verbs which may be negated by one of the negative adverbs *mo-iou* or *mei-iou* occur in questions of this type, the negated constituent of the coordination is one of the forms *mo-iou*; *mei-iou*; *mo-te* or *me-te*: 670. *khe lai-la mo-iou?* 'have the guests arrived?'; 671. *ngi khie-ko mei-iou?* 'have you ever been there?', and 672. *ngi tsau-tau la me-te?* 'have you found it?'. It is interesting to note that the forms *mo-te* and *me-te* which, as negative adverbs, are normally restricted to certain adjectival expressions, as in 673. *me-te hen ta* 'it isn't very big', occur freely in questions of this type.

The main verb *tsai* 'to be in, at, on' takes one of the following question patterns: 674. *tha tsai pu tsai kia?* 'is he at home?' and 675. *tha tsai kia mo-iou?* When the same form *tsai* functions as a preverb, 'to be Verb-ing', one of the following question patterns may be used: 676. *ua-ua tsai khu mo-iou?* 'is the child still crying'; 677. *tha tsai pu tsai khan su?* 'is he studying?', and 678. *ngi si-pu-si tsai kong-tso?* 'are you working?'.

Sich'uanese A-not-A questions containing verbs followed by potential complements differ markedly from the corresponding Pekinese expressions, as will be seen from the following comparison: 679. *ngi khan-pu-khan te khin-tshu?*: 680. *nii kann de ching-chuu kann bu ching-chuu?* 'can you see clearly?'.

Verbs containing the complement 479. *te-iou* may be converted into A-not-A questions in one of the following two patterns: 681. *tha tai-pu-tai-te-iou ta-i?* 'is he wearing his overcoat?', and 682. *ngi tai-te-iou khian me-te?* 'have you got any money on you?'. As has already been noted above, such verb forms are always negated by *mei-iou* or equivalent negative adverbs.

For the occasional occurrence of the non-conditioned sentence suffixes 68. *mo* and *ma* see sentences 80.—81.

INTRA-RELATIONAL PARTICLES

The subordinating particle 27. li.

Attributive constructions are either unmarked or marked by the intra-relational particle 27. *li*. The presence or absence of this particle is conditioned by (a) the form class of the attribute, (b) the form class of the head, and (c) by the stress pattern of the expression.

In the following I shall describe various types of nominal expressions containing marked and unmarked attributes.

A predication functioning as attribute to a following nominal expression is always marked: 683. *tha kiang li ku-si* 'the story which he told'; 684. *ngi so li la-ko zen* 'the man you were talking about'; 685. *ngi kie ken ngo li la-pen su* 'that book you lent to me'.

The immediate constituents of such constructions are an included predication as a marked attribute and a following noun or nominal phrase as head.

These constructions must be distinguished from certain apparently identical but structurally fundamentally different constructions; the expression 686. *tha kiang li* “*hiau-hua* is ambiguous and may mean either ‘the joke which he told’ or ‘he is telling jokes’. The expression corresponding to the first translation has the structure described above, whereas the expression corresponding to the second translation constitutes a predication, containing a topic, *tha* and a following verb-object expression as comment. The form *li* is here a verb complement, which will be further discussed below (see sentences 1122.—1126.). The object normally contains a stressed attribute, as in 687. *tha tshuan li "hong i-fu* ‘she is dressed in red’.

No genuine ambiguity is likely to arise since expressions of the latter type normally constitute sentences, whereas expressions of the former type normally are included as nominal constituents — subjects or objects — of sentences.

One case of genuine ambiguity has been recorded, viz. the sentence 688. *sī tha kiang li kuai ku-sī* °so. When first heard this sentence was analysed as containing the verb *sī* ‘to be’ followed by a nominal expression as predicative complement: ‘do you mean to say that this is a lewd story told by him!?’ The speaker, however, had intended his sentence to be understood as ‘do you mean to say that he was the one who was telling lewd stories!?’ The analysis would in this case be: the verb *sī* followed by the predicative complement *tha*, which form also functions as topic to the following verb-object expression, *kiang-li kuai-ku-sī*, as predicate.⁵⁴⁾

With the following types of attributes the presence of the subordinating particle is conditioned by the form class of the expression functioning as head: (a) verb-object expressions; (b) other complex verb expressions; (c) localizer compounds; (d) free localizers.⁵⁵⁾

When the head expression is a form like 693. *tse-ko zen*⁵⁶⁾ ‘this person’ attributes of these four types are normally unmarked: 694. *so hua la-ko zen* ‘that fellow who is talking’; 695. *tsai tshuang-sang suei-tau la-ko zen* ‘that fellow who is lying down on the bed’; 696. *tso-tsi-sang la-pen su* ‘that book on the table’; 697. *la-pian la-ko fang-tsi* ‘that house over there’.

When the head expression is an unmodified noun the same types of attributes are invariably marked: 698. *tsu sī li zen* ‘people who work’; 699. *kin-tau so li zen*

⁵⁴⁾ Forms like *tha* of this sentence, which are capable of occurring as immediate constituents of two constructions, are perhaps more common in Chinese than in, say, modern colloquial English. In *there's someone wants to talk to you* the form *someone* functions as both predicative complement to *is* and subject to *wants to talk to you*. Such *pivotal forms* (the term is Chao Yuan Ren's) have been discussed above.

⁵⁵⁾ Localizer compounds include forms like 689. *tso-tsi-sang* ‘on the table’; 690. *kia-li* ‘at home’; free localizers include compound forms like 691. *la-pian* ‘that side’; 692. *uai-mian* ‘outside’. For these terms see Chao Yuan Ren, *Mandarin Primer*, p. 43 and p. 152.

⁵⁶⁾ This expression, and equivalent expressions, are appositive constructions, containing as first constituent one of the demonstratives *tse* ‘this’ or *la* ‘that’ followed by a classifier or measure. Such expressions belong to the form class of definite nominal expressions.

'people who talk all the time'; 700. *hua-iuan-li li tshai* 'the vegetables in the garden'; 701. *la-pian li zen* 'people over there'.

Di-syllabic verb-object expressions may participate as first constituents of compound nouns. Such expressions are normally marked as compounds by a specific stress pattern, as may be seen from the following contrasting examples: 702. *iou-khian-zen* 'rich people'; 42. *tu-su-zen* 'scholars', which compounds have the stress pattern 2-1-1. 703. *iou khian li zen* 'people who have money' and 43. *tu su li zen* 'people who study', which two phrases have the stress pattern 1-2-0-2.

In such cases where the attributive relation is one of *possessor/possessed object* the presence or absence of the intra-relational particle is conditioned by the form class of the attribute. Nominal expressions other than personal pronouns are always marked as in 704. *fu-khin li khian* 'father's money'.

With personal pronouns as attributes the presence of the particle *li* is determined by the particular type of possession involved. A distinction has been made between *alienable* possession, which is normally marked, and *inalienable* possession, which is normally unmarked.⁵⁷⁾

Emphatically stressed personal pronouns, however, are always marked: 705. *"ngo li khian* 'my money'; 706. *ngo lue-zen* 'my wife', but 31. *"ngo li pa-pa* 'my daddy' (with an emphatically stressed pronoun).

Expressions functioning as attributes to nominal heads frequently contain adjectival forms. These adjectival forms may belong to either of the two major classes established above, i. e. the comparative and the non-comparative class of adjectival expressions.

In the following apparently identical constructions, the form *li* may be shown to have three fundamentally different functions: (a) 707. *ta-li fang-tsi* 'large houses'; (b) 708. *to-ta-li fang-tsi* 'extremely large houses'; (c) 709. *man-ke-ke-li zen* 'sluggish people'; (d) 710. *tau-ze-pu-ze-li suei* 'lukewarm water'; (e) 711. *pu-len-pu-ze li suei* 'water which is neither too cold nor too hot'.

The first of these expressions must be analysed as an appositive construction containing two nominal constituents in juxtaposition. The first constituent consists of a comparative adjective, *ta* 'large', followed by the nominalizing suffix *li*: *ta-li* 'a large one; something large'.⁵⁸⁾

In Sīch'uanese, nouns constitute a form class the members of which may occur as *x* in the following patterns: *i-ko x* 'one x'; *tse-ko x* 'this x'; *pu "si te x* 'it isn't x'.

⁵⁷⁾ See Charles F. Hockett, *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, p. 187, where a possession is said to be alienable 'if the relationship might be broken in the normal course of events by destroying or giving away the possessed item', and where a possession is said to be inalienable if 'the possessor can not rid himself of the possessed item'.

⁵⁸⁾ The nominal status of these forms was first adequately demonstrated by Chu Te-hsi in his penetrating and important article *A Study of the Adjectives in Modern Chinese*, in Yü-yen yen-chiu, vol. I, Peking, 1956, pp. 85—94.

By substituting *ta-li* 'a large one' for *x* in these patterns we obtain forms which may be translated as follows: 'a big one'; 'this big one'; 'it isn't a big one'.

The fact that such forms never function as predicates, as modifiers to verbs and as complements to verbs may be adduced as a negative criterion for determining their nominal status.

As has been shown above non-comparative adjectival expressions frequently contain the suffix *li* when functioning predicatively: 712. *tha li fang-tsi to-ta-li* 'his house is extremely large'. When such adjectival expressions are found as attributes we may be tempted to apply the same dichotomous analysis as was applied to 707. *ta-li fang-tsi* also to the forms 708. *to-ta-li fang-tsi* and 709. *man-ke-ke-li zen*. The non-validity of this analysis will be demonstrated presently.

When such non-comparative adjectival expressions as never take the suffix *li* function as attributes — as in 711. *pu-len-pu-ze li suei* — the form *li* is obviously the intra-relational particle, serving to mark the construction.

Having correctly analysed 707. *ta-li fang-tsi* into two nominal forms in apposition and 711. *pu-len-pu-ze li suei* into a non-comparative adjectival expression, subordinated, by means of the intra-relational particle *li*, to the following noun, we must now try to explore the structural differences between the expression 707. *ta-li fang-tsi* on the one hand and expressions like 708. *to-ta-li fang-tsi*, 709. *man-ke-ke-li zen* and 710. *tau-ze-pu-ze-li suei* on the other. The latter attributes cannot, of course, be nominal forms on a par with *ta-li* since they cannot substitute for *x* in the patterns given above. Their status as non-comparative adjectival expressions has also been demonstrated above. Why, then, do they not, like other non-comparative adjectival expressions, require the intra-relational particle when functioning attributively? The obvious answer to this question is that in these and equivalent expressions the form *li* represents a fusion of the adjectival suffix *li* and the intra-relational particle *li*. A few examples have been found, where both forms occur in juxtaposition, viz. 713. *to-ngai-sua-li li zen* 'pleasure-loving people' and 714. *to-hau-thsi-li li zen* 'people extremely fond of eating'. In both these expressions the syllable immediately preceding the adjectival suffix carries strong stress. This fact suggests that the two unstressed and atonal forms were at first preserved only after strongly stressed syllables and fused into one form elsewhere and that the shorter fusion form eventually came to prevail — with certain exceptions as shown by our two examples above — even after strongly stressed syllables: **man-ke-ke-li li zen* has thus become 709. *man-ke-ke-li zen*.⁵⁹)

⁵⁹) A similar type of fusion has occurred in Northern Mandarin, where the two unstressed and atonal suffixes 123. *la la* — the word suffix and the phrase suffix — have been fused into one form. For this see Chao Yuan Ren, *Mandarin Primer*, p. 41.

Cf. also Knud Togeby, *Structure immanente de la langue française*, p. 126, where he writes: 'la construction superlative ordinaire: *le plus beau paysage* est aussi plus compliquée qu'elle ne le paraît: il faut l'interpréter comme *le le plus beau paysage* . . . parce que l'article appartient à la fois au groupe entier dont la forme est définie, et à l'adjectif seul dont il exprime le degré superlatif'.

The nominalizing suffix *li* and the intra-relational particle *li* frequently occur in juxtaposition and no fusion has been observed in such instances: 715. *la tse-tsi li li ko-ko* 'the elder brother of the ricksha-puller'.

The intra-relational particle 33. te.

The intra-relational particle 33. *te* serves to signal the subordinate relation between a complement and a preceding adjectival or verbal head. The following types of complements may be joined to a comparative adjective by means of the particle *te*: (a) one of the forms 151. *hen* 'very' and 156. *to* 'much . . .-er'; (b) compound adjectives; (c) complex verb expressions, and (d) included predications. Examples are 716. *tha lan te hen* 'he is very lazy'; 717. *tha phang te phiau-liang* 'she is plump in a pretty way' and 718. *tha uai te lian tha tsi-ki li pa-pa tu pu kan so tha* 'he is so bad-tempered that even his own father doesn't dare to tell him off'.

Comparative and non-comparative adjectives may function as marked complements to verbs, as in 719. *hie te hau*⁶⁰) and 720. *hie te to-hau-li* 'writes extremely well'. The structural distinction between the resultant expressions becomes apparent when such expressions function as attributes in nominal expressions, as in 721. *hua te hau li zen* 'people who paint well' and 722. *hua te to-hau-li li zen* 'people who paint extremely well'. This distinction is fundamentally the same as that obtaining between 707. *ta-li fang-tsi* 'large houses' and 708. *to-ta-li fang-tsi* 'extremely large houses'.

Another differentiating factor is that of these marked verb-complement expressions only such as contain non-comparative adjectives as complements may occur in conjunction with the coverb 293. *pa*, as in 723. *ngi pa tse-liang-ko tsi hie te to-hau-li* 'you have written these two characters extremely well'.⁶¹)

Coordinating particles.

Coordinate constructions may be (a) additive, (b) alternative, or (c) appositive. Additive and alternative constructions may be either unmarked or marked. The markers of additive constructions are 16. *ken*, 17. *thong* and 18. *ho* 'and', 724. *iou — iou* and 725. *ie — ie* 'both — and', and 726. *iue — iue* 'the more — the more'; alternative coordination may be marked by 19. *hai-si*, 20. *hue-tse* or *me* 'or'. Appositive coordination is always unmarked.

The choice of marker is determined by the form class of the constituents of the coordinate expression. The intra-relational particles 16. *ken*, 17. *thong* and 18. *ho* occur in nominal expressions, as in 727. *ngo ken tha* 'he and I' and 728. *pa-pa thong ma-ma* 'daddy and mummy'.

When two definite nominal expressions denoting two persons are included in a marked additive coordinate construction the form *liang-ko* 'the two (of us, you, them)' is normally added, as in 729. *ngi ken ngo liang-ko* 'you and I, the two of us'. The resultant expression is an appositive coordinate construction containing a marked additive coordinate expression as first constituent.⁶²)

⁶⁰) For these constructions see sentence 163.

⁶¹) The corresponding Pekinese constructions have been discussed by Chu Te-hsi, *op. cit.*, pp. 105—106.

⁶²) An interesting use of *liang-ko* is found in sentences which contain a definite singular nominal expression as topic and another definite singular nominal expression as either a constituent of a coverb phrase or as an object. Examples are 436. *ngo tau pu ken tha liang-ko si hau-phong-iou* 'I am certainly

Marked additive coordination of adjectival expressions is effected by one of the forms 724. *iou — iou* or 726. *iue — iue*. Examples are 738. *iou hiang-in iou hau* 'both cheap and of good quality' and 739. *iue ta iue hau* 'the bigger it is the better'.

Examples of unmarked additive coordination of adjectives are the compounds 740. *kau-ta* 'tall and big' and 741. *ngai-phang* 'short and fat'.

The comments of the following sentences contain verbal expressions in unmarked additive coordination: 742. *tsong-kue hiau-ua-ua kwei-tau tshi tong-hi* 'Chinese children kneel when they eat'; 743. *ngo uan-sang suei-tau khan hiau-so* 'in the evenings I read novels in bed'; 744. *tha khu-tau ti-hia kin-tau han* 'he kept on yelling squatting on the ground'; 745. *tha tsu tau miao-tsi 'i-thou hie tsi* 'he stays in the monastery and devotes himself to calligraphy'; 746. *ngo uan-sang phin-si khai tshang-tsi suei* 'I normally sleep with an open window'; 747. *uai-kue-zen pu tho i-fu suei* 'foreigners sleep with their clothes on'; 748. *tha pu tshuan i-fu suei* 'he sleeps without any clothes on'; 749. *ngi hia-ko ian-kin tsau* 'you are looking for it with blind eyes', and 750. *tha khiau-khi kio tsou* 'she walks on her heels with the tip of the shoes tilted upwards (like women with bound feet)'. In this type of additive coordination the relative order of the constituents is fixed.

Marked alternative coordination has been described above. Unmarked alternative coordination is relatively rare. Examples are 751. *i liang-ko* 'one or two pieces', and 752. *san u-thian* 'three or four days'. As has already been mentioned above A-not-A questions are here regarded as constituting a special sub-type of unmarked alternative coordinate expressions.

Appositive coordinate constructions differ from the other two types of coordinate constructions in that they are always unmarked and in that the relation between the constituents appears to be both coordinate/appositive and subordinate/attributive. Examples of nominal appositive constructions are 693. *tse-ko zen* 'this man'; 753. *liang-khuai khian* 'two dollars'; 754. *hen-to tshai* 'a lot of dishes'; 630. *hau-to ko?*⁶³⁾ 'how many pieces?'; 707. *ta-li fang-tsi* 'large houses'; 755. *ko ta-li* 'a large one', and 756. *ko phin-ko* 'an apple'.

not on very friendly terms with him'; 730. *ngi pi tha liang-ko tui tau ler khie* 'you are so much more clever than he is'; 731. *tha me-te ngi liang-ko ta* 'he is not as old as you are'; 732. *ngi la-ken ngo liang-ko khan* 'show it to me'; 733. *ngo ken tha liang-ko hie hin* 'I am writing to him'; 734. *ngo pu ke ngi liang-ko so hua* 'I won't speak to you'; 735. *ngi pang ngo liang-ko so hua* 'you put in a good word for me'; 736. *er-thian hiau-ua-ua hio ngi liang-ko* 'some day in the future our baby will take you as his model'. Compare also 737. *tha iau pang ngi liang-ko li mang so!*? 'do you mean to say that he is going to give you a hand!?'.

The IC analysis of constructions of this type presents certain difficulties: *liang-ko* is closely joined to the preceding nominal expression and yet the syntactic relation between the two forms can not be described within the framework of syntactic structures applied in this paper. In all the sentences above the form *liang-ko* may be said to stand in apposition to both the immediately preceding nominal expression and the nominal expression functioning as topic of the sentence.

⁶³⁾ Other members of the form class to which the forms *hen-to* 'a lot' and *hau-to* 'how many?' belong are 757. *lang-ko-to* 'that many'; 758. *la-mo-to*, 759. *la-men-to*, 760. *to-mo-to* and 761. *is-mo-to* 'that many'; 762. *tse-mo-to*, 763. *tse-men-to*, 'this many'; 590. *to-sau?* 'how many?' and 591. *to-sau-tsi?* 'how many?'.

The forms 757. — 763. also function as marked attributes in nominal expressions, as in 764. *lang-ko-to li zen* 'so many people'.

The first constituents of the expressions listed above are capable of occurring in the same functions as the expressions in which they are contained. The form *liang-khuai* may thus substitute for the larger form 753. *liang-khuai khian* 'two dollars' in any and all of its occurrences. Since this is the property of the constituents of coordinate expressions these forms are here regarded as belonging to the appositive sub-type of coordinate expressions. On the other hand the relative position of the constituents of these expressions is fixed and non-reversible. This feature is a property of the constituents of subordinate expressions whereas the same restriction does not normally apply to coordinate phrases.

Of the forms listed above 755. *ko ta-li* 'a large one' and 756. *ko phin-ko* 'an apple' are found only in post-verbal position, as in 765. *tha iau ko ta-li* 'he wants a large one'. The first constituent of these expressions, *ko*, is likewise restricted to this position, as in 766. *ngo ie iau ko* 'I also want one'.

Coordinating conjunctions and compound sentences.

Coordination of clauses may be marked or unmarked. The resultant expression is a compound sentence. We distinguish two main types of compound sentences: (a) such sentences as contain two or more coordinated predications and (b) such sentences as contain two or more coordinated predicates. In both these types the coordination may be unmarked, i. e. expressed solely by the juxtaposition of the two constituents, or be explicitly marked by certain intra-relational particles - coordinating conjunctions.

Examples of unmarked additive coordination of predications are 767. *zen san pi zen khi, ma san pi zen khi* 'when a man is good he is cheated by others, when a horse is good he is ridden by man'; 768. *lu iau tsī ma li, sī kiou kian zen hin* 'when the road is long one gets to know the strength of the horse, when a matter is protracted [and difficult to handle] one sees the heart of the man',⁶⁴) and 769. *tshai tuan, zen-ngi tshang* 'wealth is short, but righteousness is enduring'.

The following sentences illustrate unmarked coordination of predicates: 770. *tsai ki-sī ngian khian i-ko uai-hian-zen kuang-thou-kuang-lau-li tsou tau tshen-tu tshen-men-ter, tse-pian tsan-tau pu kan kin-khie* 'some decades ago a fellow from another hsien stupidly walked up to the city gate of Ch'engtu and stood there at the side not daring to enter'; 771. *ten la pan-thian kin-khie pu kan, pu kin-khie iou se-pu-te, tsī-hau tsau la i-ko ko lu li zen, ke tha kong-kong-kin-kin-li tso ko ngi so, khin uen ta-ie tse-ko ta-men sī la-i kia-li, tsuen pu-tsuen ngo kin-khie?* 'he waited quite a while and didn't dare to enter, but on the other hand he didn't feel like giving up either and therefore the best he could do was to approach a passer-by and greet him respectfully, saying: please, sir, which family does this gate belong to, am I allowed to enter?'; 772. *la-hi zen ie tong sou ta te ko lo hua liou suei* 'and then those other fellows got started and there was a hell of a fight'; 773. *tha kuang tshī pu tsu* 'he

⁶⁴) Each of the constituents of sentences 767. and 768. is a complex sentence containing an unmarked subordinated clause.

only eats and doesn't work', and 774. *ngo suei pu tshen suei, tshī pu tshen tshī* 'I don't sleep well and I have no appetite'.

The most frequently occurring markers of coordination are the coordinating conjunctions 775. *tan-sī* 'but', 19. *hai-sī*, 20. *hue-tse* and °*me* 'or' and the adverbs 724. *iou* — *iou* and 725. *ie* — *ie* 'both — and'. Of these the forms *hai-sī*, *hue-tse* and °*me*, which serve to mark alternative coordination, have been discussed above.

The form 775. *tan-sī* may coordinate both predications and predicates, as in 776. *tha so la ko-hou tsi-ki ha-ha ta-hiau, tan-sī me-te i-ko zen ken-tau tha hiau* 'when he had finished speaking he himself laughed heartily but there wasn't a single person who joined him in laughing'; 777. *ti-er thian tsau-sang ngo tshai pa tau-li hiang-tshuan la, tan-sī tsau-tu-tsau la* 'it wasn't until the next morning that I realized the truth, but then I had already had it'; 778. *tha pen-lai sī ko khiong-kuang-tan, tan-sī iou iau° pong iou khian* 'he is actually a poor devil but at the same time he wants to pretend that he is well off'.

The forms 724. *iou* — *iou* and 725. *ie* — *ie* serve to coordinate predicates, as in 779. *tha iou lau iou tshou* 'she is both old and ugly', and 780. *tha ie sī lau-pan ie sī phau-thang-li* 'he is manager and waiter at the same time'.

EXTRA-RELATIONAL PARTICLES

Coverbs.

The two ICs of a coverb phrase are an extra-relational particle — a coverb — and a following nominal expression. Such coverb phrases function adverbially in the sentence as an attribute to the following predicative centre. The subordinate relation between the nominal constituent of the coverb phrase and the centre is said to be marked by the coverb.⁶⁵)

Coverb phrases operate in sentences with adjectival and verbal centres.

The following coverbs occur in adjectival predications: 92. *pi*, 114. *pi-°kan* 'compared to; than'; 115. *iou* 'as'; 116. *mei-iou*, *mo-iou*, 117. *mo-te*, *me-te* 'not as'; 118. *ken* and 782. *ke* 'as'; 120. *li*, 121. *ke* and 122. *tsou* 'from'; 118. *ken* 'with'.

The coverbs *pi* and *pi-°kan* 'compared to; than' mark the following nominal expression as the second term of a comparison. The centre is normally immediately preceded by the preverb 783. *iau* and followed by a complement denoting the

⁶⁵) The original and to a certain extent still manifest verbal 'nature' of coverbs makes an alternative treatment possible. Chao Yuan Ren prefers to treat a coverb phrase and the following predicative centre as 'verbal expressions in series'. Such constructions are by Chao Yuan Ren regarded as coordinate, but differing from other coordinate syntactic constructions in that the order of the constituents is fixed and non-reversible. (See Chao Yuan Ren, *Mandarin Primer*, p. 38.) As we shall see presently, forms functioning as coverbs are susceptible to a great deal of functional variation within the complex of verb expressions. The verbal 'nature' of these forms is further stressed by the capability of certain coverbs to occur as constituents of A-not-A questions, as in 781. *ngi pa-pu-pa tong-hi la-tshu-khie?* 'well, are you going to take out these things or aren't you?'. Coverb phrases may therefore be said to be structurally and functionally intermediate between genuine verb-object expressions and prepositional phrases.

measured or estimated difference involved in the comparison.⁶⁶) Of these complements the form 156. *to* 'much more' is always marked by the intra-relational particle *te*. Complements other than *to* are normally unmarked. Examples are 784. *in-kue ken-pen pi suei-tian iau hiau-hi* 'England is actually smaller than Sweden'; 785. *suei-tau pi tso-tau iau su-fu-hi* 'it's more comfortable to lie down than to sit up'; 786. *tha pi tha kie-kie ta i-ko lau-kho* 'he is one head taller than his elder brother'; 787. *khian-thou pi hou-thou tshang lang-ko to* 'the front [of the dress] is that much longer than the back'; 788. *ngo pi-^okan ngi iau hiau-tian* 'I am a bit younger than you are'; 789. *ngi iau pi ngo pe-hi* 'you have a lighter complexion than I have'; 790. *tha pi tha mei-mei phiau-liang te to* 'she is much prettier than her younger sister'.

The coverb *iou* or one of its negated forms *mei-iou*, *mo-iou*, *mo-te* and *me-te* may be followed by (a) a pronoun or a noun denoting the second term of a comparison, in which case the centre is normally modified by one of the forms 105. *lang-ko*, 791. *la-mo*, 792. *la-men*, 793. *la-iang* 'so, to such an extent', or 794. *tse-mo*, 795. *tse-men*, 796. *tse-iang* 'so, to this extent'; (b) a numerative compound, or (c) one of the interrogative words 582. *sa-tsī?* or 584. *sen-mo?* 'what?'. Examples are 797. *tha iou ngi ta ^oso!?* 'do you mean to say that he is as old as you are!?'; 798. *tha me-te ngi lang-ko ta* 'he isn't as old as you are'; 799. *tha me-te tha ko-ko lang-ko uai* 'he is not as bad-tempered as his elder brother'; 800. *tha me-te ngi so li lang-ko phiau-liang* 'she isn't as beautiful as you said she was'; 801. *tse-khuai tsī-iou san-tshuen khuan* 'this piece [of cloth] is only three inches broad'⁶⁷); 804. *la iou sa-tsī hi-khi?* 'what's so particularly strange about that?', and 805. *me-te sa-tsī hau-khan* '[she] isn't particularly pretty'.⁶⁸)

The coverbs *ken* and *ke* 'as' introduce a second term of a comparison and the resultant coverb phrase modifies a complex adjectival centre containing as first constituent one of the forms *i-iang* or *i-iang-li* 'same' (the former used with monosyllabic adjectives, the latter only with adjectives containing more than one syllable). When the comparison involves only two persons the numerative compound *liang-ko* 'the two [of us, you, them]' is normally added after the coverb phrase: 812. *ngo ken tha liang-ko i-iang ta* 'I am of the same age as he is'; 813. *kie-kie ke ngo liang-ko i-iang-li kau-hin* 'my elder sister is as happy as I am'.

⁶⁶) The preverb *iau* is never used in negated sentences, nor with such compound adjectival expressions as contain a verb as first constituent. In one instance — sentence 789. below — the preverb has been found before the coverb phrase.

⁶⁷) The construction *san-tshuen khuan* 'three inches broad' is closed and the adjectival centre may not be further modified. In this respect such expressions differ from expressions like *iou i-tian + adjective*, where the adjectival centre may be further modified by one of the adverbs *pu* 'not' or *thai* 'too'; as in 802. *ngo iou i-tian pu su-fu* 'I don't feel quite well' and 803. *iou i-tian thai ta* 'it's a little too large'.

⁶⁸) Adjectival expressions containing one of the forms 105. *lang-ko*, 791. *la-mo*, 792. *la-men*, 793. *la-iang*, 'so, to such an extent', 794. *tse-mo*, 795. *tse-men*, 796. *tse-iang* 'so, to this extent', 806. *hau?* and 156. *to?* 'how?, to what extent?' are normally preceded by the verb 115. *iou* or one of its negated forms: 807. *tha iou lang-ko lau ^oso!?* 'do you mean to say that he is as old as all that!?'; 808. *iou tse-men ta* 'it's as big as this'; 809. *ngi li iou hau ta?* 'how large is yours?'. This *iou* is normally omitted in emphatic and dislocated comments, as in 810. **lang-ko lau ^oso, thai?* 'is he really all that old!'. It is, in this context, interesting to note that adjectival expressions containing the adverb *hen* 'very' as first constituent are normally negated by *me-te* or equivalent form: 811. *me-te hen ta* 'it isn't particularly large'.

The form *thong-iang* occurs as a substitute for *i-iang*, as in 814. *tha ken ngo liang-ko thong-iang kau* 'he is of the same height as I am'. The form *i-iang-li* may also occur predicatively, as in 815. *ngo ken tha liang-ko i-iang-li* 'I am just the same as he is'.

Coverb phrases containing one of the coverbs *li*, *ke* and *tsou* 'from' and a following place expression may modify the adjectival expressions 816. *kin* 'near' and 817. *iuan* 'far'; when the adjectival centre is modified by one of the interrogative adverbs 806. *hau?* or 156. *to?* 'how?', to what extent?' the resultant centre expression is normally preceded by the preverb 115. *iou* or one of its negated forms: 818. *ngi kia-li ke tser iuan pu iuan?* 'is your home far from here?'; 819. *ke tser iou hau-ian?* 'how far is it from here?'; 820. *tse-li tsou lau-lan-men iou hau-ian?* 'how far is it from here to the Old South Gate?'.

The form 121. *ke* may function as a main verb and may then be modified by these coverb phrases, as in 821. *li ngo-men ler ke te thai iuan-hen-la* 'it's far too far from our place'.

The predicative adjective may be substituted by a nominal measure expression, in which case the verb 115. *iou*, or one of its negated forms is normally inserted between the coverb phrase and the measure expression, as in 822. *ke tser iou san-li* 'it's three li from here'.

The following coverbs occur in verbal predications: 16. *ken*, 17. *thong* 18. *ho* and 182. *ke* 'together with'; 823. *tau* 'to'; 824. *tshong* 'from'; 492. *tsai*, °*tai* 'in, at, on'; 825. *pang* and 782. *ke* 'for'; 826. *la-ken*, 827. *la-pang*, 782. *ke*, 828. *pi*, 829. *tso* and 830. *tsau* 'by'; 831. *la* and 832. *iong* 'with, by means of' and 293. *pa* 'taking'.

The coverb *ken* introduces a person who participates in the action denoted by the main verb: 833. *ngo ken ko uai-kue-zen hio-la i-ngian li in-uen* 'I studied English with a foreigner for a year'; 834. *tha li ko-ko pen-lai ke ngo liang-ko tsu tsai i-khi* 'his elder brother used to stay together with me'; 835. *ngo ken tha liang-ko kie-la san-khuai khian* 'I have borrowed three dollars from him'; 436. *ngo tau pu ken tha liang-ko si hau-phong-iou* 'I am definitely not on very friendly terms with him'.⁶⁹⁾

The forms 17. *thong* and 18. *ho* may substitute for 16. *ken*. When the verb is 838. *kie* 'to borrow' the coverb *ken* is normally used.

The coverbs 492. *tsai* and °*tai* 'in, at, on' may be illustrated by the following sentences: 839. *tha tsai pau-kue-si tsu la pan-ngian la* 'he has been living in [the monastery] Pao-kuo-si for half a year'; 840. *ngo tshong-lai mei-iou tsai he-si-sang tsu-ko sen-i* 'I never had any dealings on the black market'; 841. *tha °tai tshen °i-thou tsu si* 'he works in the city'.⁷⁰⁾

The coverb 823. *tau* occurs predominantly in conjunction with one of the verbs

⁶⁹⁾ The form 16. *ken* may also function as an intra-relational particle signalling additive coordination. When only two persons are involved and expressed by definite nominal expressions (such as proper nouns or pronouns) the form *liang-ko* 'the two [of us, you, them]' is normally added either to the coordinate expression or immediately after the coverb phrase: 836. *tha ken ngo liang-ko tu khie la* 'he and I both went there', 837. *ngo ken tha liang-ko kie la khian* 'I have borrowed some money from him'.

⁷⁰⁾ In one instance *tsai* has been found as a substitute for 823. *tau*: 842. *ngi tsai la-li khie?* 'where are you going?'.

437. *lai* 'to come here' or 438. *khie* 'to go away'; 843. *tau tse-li lai* 'come here'; 844. *tau la-li khie* 'go there'.⁷¹⁾

The coverb 824. *tshong* 'from' occurs predominantly in conjunction with the verb 437. *lai* 'to come': 847. *ngi tshong la-li lai?* 'where do you come from?'. Such sentences are relatively rare and the coverb *tshong* normally operates in sentences of the type 848. *tha si tshong hi-pe lai li* 'he has come here from the North-West'.

The coverbs 16. *ken*, 825. *pang* and 782. *ke* 'for' introduce the person to whose advantage or disadvantage the action denoted by the main verb is performed. Examples are 849. *ngo pang ngi tsu* 'I'll do it for you'; 850. *ngo ken ngi mai* 'I'll buy it for you'; 851. *kie-kie ke tha la la* 'my elder sister took it from him'; 852. *ngi tsai ke la-ko hie hin?* 'to whom are you writing?'; 853. *ngo pu "ke ngi liang-ko so hua* 'I won't speak to you'; 854. *ngi kuang-si pang pie-zen so hua* 'you are always taking other people's views [against me]'; 855. *ngo pang ngi sou la hen-to ma* 'I had to carry the can for you'.⁷²⁾

The coverbs 826. *la-ken*; 827. *la-pang*; 782. *ke*; 828. *pi*; 829. *tso*, and 830. *tsau* 'by', introduce the person (or thing) who (or which) performs the action denoted by the centre of the predication. Examples are 858. *tse-ko hua-phin la-ken la-ko ta-lan la?* 'who has broken this vase?'; 859. *hiau-ua-ua la-pang uai-kue-zen la-khie la* 'the children were snatched away by foreigners'; 860. *ngi la-pang la-ko khan-tau la mo-iou?* 'were you seen by anybody?'⁷³⁾; 861. *tha-men la-ken thu-fei khiang-kuang la* 'everything they had was taken by the robbers'; 862. *ngi ke la-ko ta te lang-ko li-hai?* 'by whom were you beaten up so badly?'; 863. *tha pi khi-tshe ngian-tau la* 'he was run over by a car'; 864. *ngo tso se ngau-tau la* 'I was bitten by a snake'.

As may be seen from the above sentences, the main verb is normally followed by a resultative or directional complement. In a few instances the verb is followed by an object, as in 865. *ngi pi zen-kia ta la ngi °so!?* 'do you mean to say that you were beaten up by somebody!?', and 866. *ngo tsau tha-men khiang-khie la ki-si khuai khian* 'they robbed me of some tens of dollars'.

The forms 872. *ke*; 828. *pi*, and 829. *tso* also function as preverbs, as in 867. *i-ko ua-ua pi ngian-tau la* 'a child has been run-over [by a car]'; 868. *tha tso ngau-tau la me-te?* 'was he bitten [by the dog]?'

The coverbs 831. *la* and 832. *iong* introduce the instrument of the action denoted by the main verb: 869. *ngi la sa-tsi tong-hi khai lian?* 'what on earth are you wiping your face with?'; 870. *tha iong in-uen kiang* 'he spoke in English'.

⁷¹⁾ The forms *lai* 'to come' and *khie* 'to go away' may function as preverbs expressing intention. Coverb phrases containing the coverb 823. *tau* operate also in such sentences: 845. *tha tau tse-li lai ken ngo tsu-fu pai-long-men-tsen* 'he comes here to have a chat with my grand-father'; 846. *ngi tau tse-li lai tsua-tsi* 'what do you come here for?'

⁷²⁾ The forms 825. *pang* and 782. *ke* also function as linkverbs and this may occasionally give rise to ambiguity, as in the following sentences: 849. *ngo pang ngi tsu* 'I'll help you do it; I'll do it for you'; 856. *ngo ke ngi khan-khan* 'I'll let you have a quick glance at it; I'll have a quick look for you'. In one instance the coverb *pang* has been found as a substitute for 16. *ken*: 857. *ngo pang ngi liang-ko pi-khi ngo iau ta-tian* 'comparing our ages I find that I am slightly older than you'.

⁷³⁾ This sentence is ambiguous as may be shown by the following possible alternative translation: 'did you show it to anybody?'. This ambiguity is due to the fact that the forms *la-pang*, and *la-ken* also function as linkverbs. For this see sentences 381.—382.

The coverb 293. *pa* introduces a person or thing who (or which) undergoes the action denoted by the centre or towards whom (or which) this action is directed. The nominal expression included in the coverb phrase invariably has definite reference. The main verb is always followed by a complement (to be further specified below), except in certain types of subordinated clauses. Examples are 871. *ti-ti pa su ke ngo tshe la* 'my younger brother has torn my book to pieces'; 872. *tha pa ko-ko ma-tshan la* 'she gave my elder brother a good scolding'; 873. *pu-iau pa i-fu tso-tsong la* 'don't sit so that you crease your clothes!'; 874. *pa-pa pa si-khin tsu-kuai la* 'daddy made a complete mess of the matter'; 875. *tha pa hin-i-fu si-lan-uan la* 'he has completely torn his new clothes to pieces'; 876. *tha pa ngo khan-tau* 'he keeps looking at me'; 877. *ngi pa ngo sou la-tau* 'you kept holding my hand'; 878. *pa ian-kin pi-tau te* 'keep your eyes shut'; 879. *ngo ma-sang pa tsha tuan-lai* 'I'll bring tea at once'; 880. *lang-kou pa tsuei-ua-tsi he-khi-phau la* 'the Alsatian scared away the thief'; 881. *tha pa khian tshuai tsai pau-pau °i-thou* 'he put the money in his pocket'; 882. *tha pa thai-thai tiou tsai u-thou* 'he left his wife at home'; 883. *tha pa khi-iou tau tau i-ko kiou-phintsi °i-thou khie* 'he poured the petrol into a wine bottle'; 884. *tha pa tha so iou li khian ke ke tha er-tsi la* 'he left all his money to his son'; 885. *tha-men pa ngo khan-tshen zi-pen-zen khie la* 'they thought I was Japanese'; 886. *tha pa fu-ngiu so tshen ki-ngiu khie la* 'he pronounced the word 'fu-ngiu' as 'ki-ngiu'; 887. *tshai-fong pa i-lin ke ngo lian te thai ta la* 'the tailor made the collar too large for me'; 888. *tha pa mi-mau hua te i-ko kuai-hiang* 'she has painted her eye-brows very badly'; 889. *ngi pa tsi hie te ngo khan-tu-khan-pu-tong* 'you have written these characters in such a way that I simply can't recognize them'; 890. *tha pa i-lian tu ke ngo thu hi khou-suei* 'he spat saliva all over my face'.⁷⁴⁾

In the above sentences we find the following types of complements added to the main verb: the verb complement *la* expressing completion of action (871.), various resultative complements (872.—875.), the durative complement *tau* (876.—878.), directional complements (879.—880.), various postverb phrases (881.—886.), various descriptive complements (887.—889.) and objects (890.).

The function of *pa* is sometimes identical to that of a linkverb. In the following sentences *pa* could be substituted by one of the linkverbs 360. *lin* or 361. *si* 'to make [somebody do something]': 891. *tha pa ngo khi-tau la* 'he has made me angry';⁷⁵⁾ 892. *ngi pa ta tso-khi-lai-tian* 'make him sit further up [in the bed]'; 893. *pa tha suei-tau tshuang-sang te* 'make him lie down on the bed'; 894. *tha pa ngo kian-tsi me-te pan-fa te* 'he [acts in such a way that] I simply don't know what to do with him'.

The occurrence of *pa* in sentences containing comments like 895. *liang-tau la* 'have actually caught a cold' has been described above. A similar occurrence of 'initial' *pa* obtains in sentences like the following: 896. *pa huen tu ke ngo he-lo la* 'I was

⁷⁴⁾ For the possible transformations of sentences of this type see sentences 565.—569.

⁷⁵⁾ This functional variation of *pa* occasionally results in ambiguity as is shown by the alternatively possible translation of sentence 891. 'he got angry with me'.

The linkverb function of *pa* has been described by Lü Shu-hsiang in his article *pa-tsi yung-fa ti yen-kiu* (Investigation into the functions of the form *pa*), in *Han-yü yü-fa lun-wen-tsi* (Collected essays on Chinese grammar), Peking 1955, pp. 140—141.

scared out of my wits'; 897. *pa la-ko pie-tsen ke ngo tiau la* 'I had to lose just that brooch', and 898. *pa sou-tsi-mer ke ngo thang-tau la* 'I have scalded my fingers'⁷⁶).

This function of *pa* appears to be related to the linkverb function. In many instances a preceding predication may be regarded as the topic of the predication within which *pa* functions as a linkverb: 899. *tha fu-zan kin-lai pa ngo he i-thiau* 'he suddenly came in and that really startled me'.⁷⁷)

Coverb phrases containing the coverb *pa* have occasionally been found in post-verbal position, as in 581. *ngi la-khie mo, pa la-ko* 'take it away, that thing', and 900. *khin ngi kuan-tau, pa tshu-fang li men* 'please shut the kitchen door'.

When several coverb phrases occur in the same sentence, a coverb phrase containing the coverb 825. *pang* 'for' normally precedes the *pa*-phrase, whereas coverb phrases containing coverbs other than *pang* normally follow the *pa*-phrase: 901. *pang ngo pa than-iu la-tshu-khie* 'take out the spittoon for me'; 902. *tha pa hin-i-fu ke ngo thang-huai la* 'she spoils my new dress when she ironed it'.

Postverbs phrases.

Postverb phrases consist of a limited set of extra-relational particles — postverbs — and a following nominal expression. The function of a postverb may be compared to that of a coverb, as it constitutes an IC of the phrase in which it is included and also serves to indicate the subordinate relation between the following nominal expression and the preceding centre of the predication. The comment of the predication 903. *tha tso tsai tser te* 'he is sitting here' is analyzable into the main verb *tso*, to which the following postverb phrase *tsai tser* 'in this place' functions as a complement.

In some cases the technique of constituent analysis encounters certain difficulties. The comment of the sentence 904. *tha suei tsai tshuang-sang te* 'he is lying down on the bed' agrees with the pattern described above and may therefore be analysed into a verb+postverb phrase expression. The apparently identical comment of the predication 905. *tha khu-tau ti-hia te* 'he is squatting down on the ground' may not be so analysed. In the first of the last two sentences there is pause, or pause possibility, between the verb *suei* and the following postverb *tsai*; in the second sentence, the absence of pause, or pause possibility, between *khu* and *tau* makes it necessary to regard *khu-tau* as a closely knit-together complex verb. This complex verb may be used in absolute position, as in *khu-tau* 'squat down; keep squatting' and predicative-

⁷⁶) Similar occurrences of 'initial' *pa* have been described by Grootaers in his article *Initial "pa" in a Shensi Dialect*, *T'oung Pao*, vol. XLII. (See especially his examples (18)–(22)); by J. L. Mullie in his *The Structural Principles of the Chinese Language* (see his examples I:185, II:382 and II:428). Wang Li regards constructions of this type ('the consecutive form') as derived from the normal *pa*-construction, which he terms 'the execution form'. See his *Chung-kuo yü-fa li-lun* (A theoretical discussion on Chinese grammar), vol. 1, pp. 170–171. Lu Shü-hsiang notes that sentences containing this 'initial' *pa* normally describe a disagreeable event. (Lu Shü-hsiang, *op. cit.* p. 141.) This is corroborated by my own findings and by the examples adduced by Grootaers, Mullie and Wang Li.

⁷⁷) An identical analysis may be applied to many of J. L. Mullie's sentences containing initial *pa*.

ly, as in *tha khu-tau te* 'he is squatting down', whereas the combination **suei-tsai* is structurally impossible.

We shall see presently that 491. *tau* may be employed as a verb complement indicating a steady state or the continuative aspect of action and there is every reason why it should be so interpreted, even here. With this analysis we seem, at first, forced to accept a form like *khu-tau* as a transitive verb and the predicate of the sentence 905. above as a verb-object expression. That this is not so, may be shown by the following argument: the form *tau* may elsewhere function as a postverb, as in the sentence 906. *tha tsu tau ngo-men u-thou te* 'he lives at our place'. That the comment of this predication is a verb+postverb phrase expression is shown by the pause, or pause possibility between the verb and the following post-verb phrase and by the fact the forms **tsu tau* and **tha tsu tau te* do not occur. This makes it highly probable, not to say absolutely certain, that the form *tau* in sentence 905. above represents a fusion of the verb complement *tau* and the postverb *tau*. A similar fusion of juxtaposed and homophonous but functionally distinct function words has been discussed above.⁷⁸⁾

Postverb phrases occur predominantly in sentences with verb centres. The postverbs are 492. *tsai*, *°tai*, 491. *tau* 'in, at, on' and 823. *tau* 'up to', which postverbs are followed by various nominal place expressions denoting the place or the goal of the activity expressed by the verb; 782. *ke*, 16. *ken*, 825. *pang*, which are followed by nominal expressions denoting the person who receives something through the action denoted by the main verb; 907. *tso*, 908. *tshen* and 909. *uei*, which are followed by nominal expressions denoting a resultant state arrived at through the action denoted by the verb. Examples of postverb constructions are 910. *tha tsu tsai ngo-men ler te* 'he lives at our place'; 911. *ua-ua tso tsai tha sen-sang* 'the child is sitting on her lap'; 912. *ngo-men tsu tsai i-khi* 'we live at the same place'; 913. *lai ken ngo tso °tai i-tuei* 'come and sit here with me'; 914. *ngi tsu °tai tser te °so!?* 'do you mean to say that you live here!?!'; 906. *tha tsu tau ngo-men u-thou te* 'he lives at our place'. In the following two sentences *tau* is a fusion of the verb complement and the postverb *tau*: 915. *tha li i-fu pa-tau sen-sang te* 'her clothes are hugging her body'; 916. *pa-pi-fer pa-tau khiang-sang te* 'house lizzards cling to walls'.⁷⁹⁾

These sentences must be distinguished from the following apparently identical but potentially different sentences: 917. *uan pai tau kuei-tsi kau-thou te* 'the bowls are put on top of the cupboard'; 918. *phin-tsi kho tau tshu-fang °i-thou te* 'the bottle has been put in the kitchen' and 919. *ngi li mau-tsi kua tau tser te °to* 'but, surely, your cap is hanging here'. Such sentences differ from the sentences 915.—916. above, in that they may be converted into the structures illustrated by the following

⁷⁸⁾ See 709. *man-ke-ke-li zen* 'sluggish people' which is analysed as a fusion of **man-ke-ke-li li zen*. When asked to 'break up' predicates of the two types discussed here, my informants invariably applied the same dichotomies as have been applied here, i. e. *tso/tsai tser te* 'is sitting here', but *khu-tau/ti-hia te* 'is squatting on the ground'.

⁷⁹⁾ These sentences make it clear that the phrase suffix *te* is normally present when the verb expresses an actually realized state or event.

two sentences: 920. *pa hiang-tsī kho tau uai-thou te* 'put the box outside and leave it there' and 921. *uan tsai tso-tsī-sang pai-khi te* 'the bowls have been put on the table and are still there'. It is interesting to note that in the construction exemplified by the last sentence the verb is invariably followed by the verb complement *khi*.⁸⁰⁾

Further examples of sentences containing postverb phrases are 923. *tha phau tau tshen* 'i-thou *khie* 'he ran into the city'; 924. *tha mei-thian suei tau thian-liang* 'he regularly sleeps until dawn'; 925. *ke ke tha ma* 'give it to him!'; 926. *ngo song ke ngi* 'I give it to you'; 927. *ngi i-kin ki ke tha* 'to!? 'but, surely, you have already posted it to him!'; 928. *kie ken ngo* 'lend it to me!'; 929. *tha mei-iou la ken ngo* 'he never gave it to me'.

The postverb 825. *pang* has been found only in conjunction with the main verb *la*, as in 930. *la pang ngo* 'give it to me!' and 931. *kai la pang ngi* 'so!? 'do you mean to say that it should be given to you?'.

Subordinating conjunctions and clause subordination.

A subordinating conjunction is an extra-relational particle which serves to signal the subordinate relation between the phrase in which it is included as an IC and the main clause of a complex sentence.

The most frequently occurring subordinating conjunctions are 932. *kia-sī*, 933. *kia-zu*, 934. *zo-sī* and 935. *zu-ko* 'if'; 936. *phei-zu* 'if, for example; supposing'; 937. *kiou-sī* 'even if'; 938. *in-uei* 'because', and 939. *ki-zan* 'since'.

Of the conditional subordinating conjunctions *kia-sī* is by far the most frequent: 940. *ngi kia-sī pu khie, tha kiou hui sen khi* 'if you don't go he might get angry'. The form *kia-sī* may be dislocated, and is then always followed by the verb *sī*, as in 941. *ngo kho-i pu khie, kia-sī sī* 'if so, I can give up going there'.

phei-zu is frequently found in the phrase 942. *phei-zu so . . .* 'if, for example; supposing'. The function of *kiou-sī* may be illustrated by the following sentences: 943. *kiou-sī kin-tsī, ngo ie pu iau* 'I would not have it even if it were gold'; 944. *kiou-sī tha tsī-ki khin ngo, ngo ie pu khie* 'I wouldn't go there even if he himself invited me'.⁸¹⁾

Certain correlative adverbs occur optionally in the main clause. These are *so-i* 'therefore', which occurs in conjunction with *in-uei*, as in 945. *ngo in-uei kin-thian*

⁸⁰⁾ Nominal expressions functioning as topic in sentences like 917. and 918. have definite reference, which may be converted into indefinite reference by means of the transformation illustrated by the following sentence: 922. *khiang-sang kua-te-iou san-suei-huer* 'there were landscape scrolls hanging on the wall'.

⁸¹⁾ It might well be argued that in a sentence like *kiou-sī ngi song ngo, ngo ie pu iau* 'I wouldn't have it even if you gave it to me' the form *kiou-sī* is the copula verb *sī* modified by the adverb *kiou* 'actually' and that the pronoun *ngi* which immediately follows the copula verb is a pivotal form functioning both as predicative complement to *sī* and as subject to *song*: 'even if it actually is you who gives it to me . . .'. The fact that *kiou-sī*, like all subordinating conjunctions may be placed between the subject and the predicate of the subordinated clause — *ngi kiou-sī song ngo . . .* — shows that the form here is a subordinating conjunction.

pu-to-i su-fu, so-i mei-iou lai khan ngi 'I didn't come to see you today, because I didn't feel very well'; 946. *ie* 'also', which occurs in conjunction with *kiou-si*, and 947. *kiou*, which correlates subordinating conjunctions other than these two.

Clause subordination may be marked by signals other than subordinating conjunctions. Such signals comprise the following types: (a) adverbs immediately preceding the negatable centre of the subordinated clause; (b) adverbs immediately preceding the negatable centre of the main clause; (c) clause suffixes occurring in the subordinated clause, and (d) special features of order or selection in the subordinated clause.

As may be seen from the following examples, two or more of these signals of clause subordination may occur in the same sentence.

(a) 948. *ngo i khan, kiou hiau-te si kia-li* 'as soon as I saw it I realized that it was a fake'; 949. *tha i lai, ngo men kiou tshī fan* 'we will eat as soon as he comes'; 950. *ngo pa hua i so-uan-tau, ta-kia kiou zen-pu-tsu hiau-khi-lai la* 'as soon as I finished my story everybody couldn't help but burst into laughter'; 951. *ngo tsai khiong, ie pu te uen tha iau khian* 'no matter how poor, I would never dream of asking him for money', and 952. *tha tsai so ngo, ngo ie pu kuan* 'I don't care however much he scolds me'. In these sentences the subordination is marked by one of the adverbs *i* 'as soon as' or *tsai* 'no matter how; no matter to what extent'.

(b) 953. *tsai ta-tian kiou hau* 'if it had been a bit bigger it would have been alright' and 954. *thai iuan-hen-la ngo kiou tsou-pu-te* 'if it's too far I won't be able to walk there'. In these sentences, the subordination is marked by the adverb *kiou* of the main clause.

(c) 955. *ngi pu hi-huan ta li-hua, ngo-men kiou pu ta la* 'if you don't feel like playing any more we won't continue'; 956. *hia-iu li-hua, ngo-men kiou pu khie* 'if it should rain we won't go there'; 957. *tha pu khuai tsuan-lai li-hua, ngo-men kau-pu-in la* 'if he doesn't come back soon we won't make it'; 958. *tshen-tu li-si, kho-len iou khi-si uan* 'as for Ch'engtū, there might well be 700 000 [inhabitants there]'; 959. *hie-uan-tau ko-hou, tshu-khie sua* 'when I have finished writing [this letter] we can go out and have fun' and 960. *huei-khie la ko-hou, ngo i hiang tse khin-hin pu tui* 'when I got back I began to feel that there was something fishy about the whole business'. The most frequently occurring clause suffixes are *li-hua* 'if', *li-si* 'as for' and *ko-hou* 'afterwards'.

(d) 961. *ngo tshī-uan-tau fan kiou lai* 'I'll come as soon as I have finished my meal'; 962. *ta-hen-la kiou pu hin* 'if it's too large it won't do' and 963. *len-hen-la pu hau-tshī* 'it doesn't taste good if it gets too cold'. The subordinated clauses of these sentences present certain features which are not found outside subordinated clauses. The verb-object expression of the first sentence would in a main clause be converted into a coverb construction, containing the coverb *pa*, and a following verb; the resultant phrase would take the phrase suffix *la*: 964. *ngo pa fan tshī-uan-tau la* 'I have finished my meal'. When not included in a subordinated clause the complement *hen-la* 'far too . . .' always occurs in conjunction with the attribute *thai* 'too', as in 965. *thai ta-hen-la* 'it's far too big'.

Examples of unmarked clause subordination are 966. *kiou-li pu khie, hin-li pu*

lai 'if old things don't disappear, new things won't come'; 967. *ngi phu-sa ko ho, tsi-sen lan-pau* 'when a clay bodhisattva crosses a river he finds it hard to safeguard his own person'; 968. *mo si pai her long-men-tsen* 'let's chat a while if you have got nothing else to do', and 969. *mo si kuai-kuai-sang ho tsha* 'let's have a bowl of tea [at the tea-house] on the corner if you are free'.

AFFIXES

Syntactically relevant affixes comprise (a) sentence suffixes; (b) clause suffixes; (c) phrase suffixes; (d) word suffixes and (e) preverbs. Sentence suffixes and clause suffixes have been described above. The discussion will here be limited to phrase suffixes, word suffixes and preverbs.

Phrase suffixes.

The phrase suffix 33. *te* expresses the actual realization of a steady state. The underlying form to which *te* is added may be (a) the verb *tsai* 'to be in, at, on' and a following place expression as object, as in 970. *tha tsai tser te* 'he is here'; (b) a verb followed by the durative complement *tau*, as in 971. *tha suei-tau te* 'he is lying down'; 972. *pa ian-kin pi-tau te* 'keep your eyes shut'; (c) a verb followed by the complement *te-iou*, as in 973. *tha sen-sang tai-te-iou khian te* 'he has got money on him'; (d) a verb followed by a postverb phrase containing one of the postverbs *tsai*, **tai* or *tau*, as in 910. *tha tsu tsai ngo-men ler te* 'he lives at our place'; 906. *tha tsu tau ngo-men u-thou te* 'he lives in our home' 917. *uan pai tau kuei-tsi kau-thou te* 'the bowls are put on top of the cupboard'; 920. *pa hiang-tsi kho tau uai-thou te* 'put the boxes outside and leave them there'; (e) a verb modified by a coverb phrase containing the coverb *tsai*, as in 921. *uan tsai tso-tsi-sang pai-khi te* 'the bowls have been put on the table [and are still there]';⁸² (f) a predicative expression containing the positional complement *khi*, as in 974. *tha thou-fa li-khi te* 'his hair is standing straight up'; (g) one of the verbs *mo-iou*, *mei-iou*, *mo-te* or *me-te* when functioning either as privative verbs or as linkverbs, as in 975. *me-te zen te* 'there is nobody here', and 976. *me-te zen lai te* 'nobody is coming'; (h) the negated form of the copula-verb: 276. *pu si te* '[it] is not'.

When such expressions as have been described sub (a) — (h) above do not function as predicates the phrase suffix *te* is invariably omitted.

The phrase suffix *la* denotes a new situation or a re-interpretation of an already existing situation. This suffix may be added to nominal, adjectival, and verbal expressions functioning predicatively. Examples are 977. *ta-hai-tsi kin-ngian ki-suei la?* 'how old has your oldest child become this year?'; 978. *i-kin san-kin la* 'there are already three catties here'; 979. *ngo lau la* 'I have become old'; 980. *tha i-kin lai la* 'he is here already'; 981. *fu-zan iou lai-la liang-ko la* 'suddenly another two fellows appeared', and 982. *pa-pa tsai han ngo la* 'father is calling me now'.

⁸²) Such sentences are transformations of sentences like 917. above.

When the phrase suffix *la* is used with negated predicates it is best translated by '[not] any more; [not] any longer',⁸³ as in 983. *ngo pu hin la* 'I am no good any more'; 984. *ngo pu tsai khai khou la* 'I won't say any more'; 985. *ngian-ki ie pu sau la* 'I am no longer young'; 986. *ngo pu hiang ta la* 'I don't feel like playing any more', and 987. *ngo me-te si la* 'I have got nothing more to do'.

Since a new situation may frequently be regarded as the result of the completion of an action, the phrase suffix *la* often concurs with the verb suffix *la* denoting such completion.⁸⁴)

In a number of instances the phrase suffix *la* appears to express obviousness and certainty. This special connotation frequently occurs when *la* is used in conjunction with the adverb *thai* 'too', as in 989. *thai ta la* 'it's obviously far too big', and 990. *tha-men hio-sen thai ngai lau si la* 'the students are obviously too fond of stirring up trouble'.

Verb complements.

Verb complements comprise (a) directional complements; (b) resultative complements; (c) potential complements, and (d) various aspectual complements serving to determine the nature of the action denoted by the verb with reference to continuity.

Directional complements are either simple or complex. The simple complements are 437. *lai* and 438. *khiu* denoting direction *towards* and *away from* the speaker respectively. Examples of complex directional complements are 991. *sang-lai* 'up here'; 992. *sang-khie* 'up there'; 993. *hia-lai* 'down here'; 994. *hia-khie* 'down there'; 995. *tshu-lai* 'out here'; 996. *tshu-khie* 'out there'; 997. *kin-lai* 'in here'; 998. *kin-khie* 'in there'; 999. *khi-lai* 'up [here]', and 1000. *khi-khie* 'up [there]; away'.⁸⁵)

A complex directional complement may be converted into a potential complement by the insertion of one of the forms 33. *te* 'can' or 170. *pu* 'cannot' between the main verb and the complement: 1001. *tsou-te-sang-khie* 'can walk up there'.

With verbs followed by simple directional complements, ability and non-ability to perform the action denoted by the verb is normally expressed by the potential complements 1002. *te-tau* and 1003. *pu-tau* respectively: 1004. *sang-khie-te-tau* 'can get up there' and 1005. *hia-lai-pu-tau* 'cannot get down here'.⁸⁶)

As in Northern Mandarin the directional complements 999. *khi-lai* and 994.

⁸³) The first sinologist to pay attention to this feature was, to my knowledge, F. Lessing, in his *Vergleich der wichtigsten Formwörter der chinesischen Umgangssprache und der Schriftsprache*, MSOS, 1925, p. 121.

⁸⁴) When the suffix *la* occurs in sentence final position and immediately following a verb, it has been regarded as a fusion of the verb suffix and the phrase suffix *la*; this double function of *la* may be illustrated by the two possible translations of the following sentence: 988. *tha lai la* 'he has come; he is here'. Cf. Chao Yuan Ren, *Mandarin Primer*, p. 41.

⁸⁵) Of the last two directional complements, only *chii. lai* is found in Northern Mandarin.

⁸⁶) The complement 1006. *pu-te* expressing desirability and possibility has been found in 1007. *kin-lai-pu-te* '[you] mustn't come in here!'. This complement has in a few instances been found with verbs followed by resultative complements, as in 1008. *tshi-to-pu-te* '[this particular kind of food] mustn't be eaten in large quantities' and 1009. *tsou-khuai-pu-te* '[I] mustn't walk too fast'.

hia-khie are also employed to denote an ingressive or a continuative aspect of the action as in 1010. *hiau-khi-lai* 'burst into laughter' and 1011. *ngian-hia-khie* 'continue to read'. The complement 1000. *khi-khie* (often recorded as *ki-khie*) is found in expressions like 1012. *song-khi-khie* 'send it away'.

Like directional complements, resultative complements are either simple or complex. Simple resultative complements may be either adjectives, verbs, or one of a restricted set of bound verb complements. Bound verb complements are always unstressed and atonal. Resultative compounds containing an adjective or verb as a second constituent have the stress pattern 1—2. Examples of such expressions are 1013. *tsu-hau* 'to make ready'; 1014. *he-phau* 'to scare away'; 1015. *tsou-khai* 'to go away' and 1016. *ta-tau* 'to hit'.

When the complement is one of the forms *tsou* 'to leave' or *phau* 'to run away' the form *khi* (or the weakened form *ki*) is normally inserted between the verb and the complement' as in 1017. *tha khai-khi-tsou la* 'he drove away [in the car]'; 1018. *pa tha-men he-ki-phau la* '[the dog] scared them away'.

Certain verbs used with resultative complements are 'dummy' forms. Examples of such combinations are 1019. *kau-tiau* 'to lose'; 1020. *kau-uang* 'to forget'; 1021. *kau-hau* 'to make ready'; 1022. *long-tiau* 'to lose'; 1023. *long-ta* 'to enlarge', and 1024. *long-hau* 'to put in order; to make ready'.

A second resultative complement may be added to resultative compounds, as in 1025. *ta-lan-uan la* 'has entirely smashed to pieces' and 1026. *si-lan-uan la* 'has entirely torn to pieces'.

The verb complement 491. *tau* functions as a resultative complement and may then express (a) the actual realization of an action or an event, as in 1027. *he-tau la* 'actually to become scared'; 1028. *khi-tau la* 'actually to become angry' and 1029. *tsang-tau la* 'to feel uncomfortable due to an excess of food';⁸⁷⁾ (b) the successful completion of an action, as in 1030. *tsau-tau* 'to find'; 1016. *ta-tau* 'to hit'; 1031. *pei-tau* 'to memorize'; 1032. *tso-tau* 'to catch'; 1033. *mo-tau* 'to grope for and find'; (c) the effect of verbs meaning 'to cover, to shut, to close' etc., as in 1034. *kuan-tau* 'to shut'; 1035. *kai-tau* 'to cover up'; 1036. *pi-tau* 'to close [one's eyes]'; 1037. *se-tau* 'to cork'; 1038. *so-tau* 'to lock up', and 1039. *khuen-tau* 'to tie up'; (d) successful perception, as in 1040. *khan-tau* 'to perceive with one's eyes'; 1041. *thin-tau* 'to perceive with one's ears'; 1042. *uen-tau* 'to smell' and 1043. *hiang-tau* 'to perceive with one's mind'.⁸⁸⁾

The form 1044. *khi* may function as (a) a resultative complement with the general meaning of 'together', as in 1045. *tsan-khi* 'to paste together'; 1046. *kie-khi* 'to join

⁸⁷⁾ This complement may also combine with certain monosyllabic adjectives to describe a disagreeable event. For this see sentences 137.—138.

⁸⁸⁾ The form 491. *tau* also functions as a complement denoting continuation of an action or a steady state. For this see sentences 1087.—1096.

together'; 1047. *khou-khi* 'to button up'; 1948. *lian-khi* 'to join together'; 1049. *kiuan-khi* 'to roll up [as a scroll]'; 1050. *tou-khi* 'to piece together'; 1051. *tuei-khi* 'to gather in a heap' and 1052. *khuen-khi* 'to tie together'; (b) a resultative/directional complement, as in 1053. *kua-khi* 'to hang up'; 1054. *tai-khi* 'to put on [as a hat]'; 1055. *thai-khi* 'to lift up'; 1056. *kian-khi* 'to pick up'; 1057. *ngian-khi* 'to pick up [with a pair of chopsticks]'; 1058. *phai-khi* 'to put on [over one's shoulders]', and 1059. *tshuan-khi* 'to put on [of sleeved garments and trousers]'; (c) a positional complement occurring in a restricted set of forms, such as 1060. *li-khi* 'standing upright'; 1061. *khiau-khi* 'tilted upright'; 1062. *tau-khi* 'turned upside down'; 1063. *tiau-khi* 'hanging down'; 1064. *huen-khi* '[placed] crosswise'; 1065. *uai-khi* 'in a slanting position'. Such expressions may be used predicatively and then always in conjunction with the phrase suffix 33. *te* denoting a steady state, as in 1066. *ngi li mau-tsī uai-khi te* 'your cap is on askew'. They may also be used as attributes to verbs, as in 1067. *huen-khi suei* 'to sleep lying across the bed' and 1068. *li-khi fang* 'to put down in an upright position'.

The form *khi* may substitute for the directional complement 999. *khi-lai* denoting an ingressive aspect of action, as in 1069. *zan-khi* 'to catch fire' and 1070. *hiang-khi* 'to recollect'.

The potential complements 33. *te* and 1006. *pu-te* express (a) ability and non-ability respectively: 216. *tsou-te* 'able to walk'; 1071. *tsou-pu-te* 'unable to walk'; (b) desirability and possibility and the corresponding negative notions, as in 1072. *ngi-li tshen-i ngen-sī hi-te* 'your shirt really ought to be washed'; 1073. *ngi ngen-sī hi-te tsau* 'you really ought to have a bath', and 1074. *tse-hi kiun-tsī tshī-te* 'so!?' 'do you mean to say that these mushrooms are edible!?'.

The complement *te* occurs as second constituent of the following compound verbs: 1075. *ki-te* 'to remember'; 1076. *zen-te* 'to recognize'; 1077. *hiau-te* 'to know'; 1078. *kio-te* 'to feel' and in the negative verb 1079. *pu kian-te* 'it isn't likely'. The negated forms of these verbs are *pu ki-te*, *ki-pu-te* 'don't remember; can't remember'; *pu zen-te*, *zen-pu-te* 'don't recognize; can't recognize'; *pu hiau-te* 'don't know', and *pu kio-te* 'don't feel'.

Complex potential complements may be formed by inserting *te* or *pu* between a main verb and a following directional or resultative complement. Examples are 1080. *la-pu-tshu-lai* 'can't take out' and 1081. *khan-pu-khin-tshu* 'can't see clearly'.⁸⁹⁾

The potential complements 1082. *te-lai*; 1083. *te-khi*, 1002. *te-tau* (and the corresponding negative forms *pu-lai* etc.) serve to specify the underlying reason or cause of the ability (or non-ability) to perform the verb action. Examples are 1084. *ngo iong-pu-lai khuai-tsī* 'I am not accustomed to use chopsticks — I don't like to use chopsticks'; 1085. *ngo tso-pu-khi thou-ten-tshe* 'I can't afford to travel first class on the train'; 1086. *ngo mai-pu-tau tshuan-phiau* 'I can't buy a boat ticket [for reasons beyond my control]'.

⁸⁹⁾ With verbs followed by simple directional complements potential complements are normally formed by one of the forms 1002. *te-tau* and 1003. *pu-tau*.

The durative complement 491. *tau* has three main functions; (a) to express a steady state, as in 1087. *tsan-tau* 'to stand'; 1088. *tso-tau* 'to sit'; 1089. *suei-tau* 'to lie down' and 1090. *khu-tau* 'to squat'; (b) to indicate the continuative nature of the verb action, as in 1091. *khan-tau* 'to keep looking at'; 1092. *hen-tau* 'to keep looking angrily at', and 1093. *la-tau* 'to keep holding';⁹⁰ (c) to indicate the simultaneous occurrence of the action of the verb to which it is bound and the action denoted by a following verb, as in 1095. *tsan-tau tshī* 'to stand up and eat', and 1096. *suei-tau khan su* 'to read in bed'.

This durative suffix is also found in the form *kin-tau*, which may function as preverb, as in 1097. *ua-ua kin-tau khu* 'the baby keeps crying all the time'; 1098. *pie kin-tau so!* 'don't keep on nagging about this!'⁹¹)

We have seen that the form 491. *tau* may be employed both as a resultative and a durative complement. In fact, the two notions conveyed by this form — the notions of result and steady state or continuation of action respectively — may well be viewed as two aspects of one concept; in other words, the result of an action may be conceived as a punctual event or as a steady state.⁹²)

⁹⁰) When such expression as have been listed sub (a) and (b) are used predicatively the phrase suffix 33. *te* is normally added, as in 1094. *tha tso-tau te* 'he is sitting down'.

⁹¹) When used with a negated verb the resultant form is best translated by 'still does not', as in 1099. *tha kin-tau pu lai* '[I have been waiting here a long while and] still he doesn't show up'.

⁹²) It is interesting to note that in the Chung-hsiang dialect, the form 1100. *teu* may function as both resultative and durative complement. (see Chao Yuan Ren, *The Chung-hsiang Dialect*, p. 154.) The fact that, in Pekinese, the resultative complement 1106. *jaur* and the durative complement *fy* are written with the same character may well indicate that the two forms were phonetically identical at some earlier stage in the history of Northern Mandarin.

It has already been noted that resultative compounds frequently occur together with the suffix 123. *la*, denoting completion of action and that verbal expressions containing the durative complement *tau* frequently occur in conjunction with the phrase suffix 33. *te*, denoting a steady state. It may well be that the use of the phrase suffix *te* originally was conditioned by the fact that the two forms — the resultative and the durative complement — were phonetically identical and that there therefore was a need for an outside differentiating factor.

I have noticed, with some speakers of the Ch'engtū dialect, a tendency towards a vacillation between the forms [*tau*] and [*tau*]. It would be extremely interesting if one could ascertain whether this phonetic vacillation is paralleled by a functional distinction between the resultative and the durative complement. All my informants used the form [*tau*] for both the resultative and the durative complement, and I was therefore not made aware of the possible distinctiveness of this variation.

When verbs followed by the complement *tau* are not used in conjunction with either the verb suffix *la* or the phrase suffix *te*, we might expect ambiguity to arise from the fact that a phonetically undifferentiated form may function as both resultative and durative complement. In other words it would appear impossible for a speaker of a language as, for example, Swedish to decide whether an expression like 1088. *tso-tau* should be interpreted as 'sitt ner' ('sit down and keep on sitting down') or as 'sätt dig ner' ('sit down'). In most instances such ambiguity would be resolved by reference to the context of situation. Such ambiguity could also be eliminated by the substitution of other complements for the resultative complement *tau*, as in 1101. *tso-hia* 'sit down' and 1102. *tsan-khi-lai* 'stand up'. It is in this connection interesting to compare the following expressions, where the complement *khi* expresses the result as a punctual event whereas the complement *tau* expresses the result as a steady state: 1103. *tshuan-khi i-fu*

The function of the verb complement 479. *te-iou* has been described above. This complement corresponds to the Pekinese verb complement 1106. *iy*, which in this function has been treated, by most Chinese and Western grammarians, as a special sub-type of the complement denoting progressive action. The written form for this complement was extensively used in colloquial texts already during the T'ang dynasty, but does not occur in the Kuang-yün, nor in any of the Ts'ie-yün manuscripts. We know, however, that this character is a variant of 1107., Ancient Chinese *îiak*. This Ancient Chinese form should regularly have given Ch'engtu *tso*. Karlgren has shown that the transition from Ancient Chinese *-iak* to Pekinese *-iau* involves a vocalization of *-k* into *-u*. (See *Grammata Serica*, p. 61.) The same transition has occurred in the exceptional Ch'engtu form 1108. *kiau* (k'ü sheng), which derives from Ancient Chinese *dz'iak*.⁹³)

It seems quite probable that the form *te-iou* is a two-syllabic representation of Ancient Chinese *îiak*. The retention of the initial stop and the substitution of a dental for the palatal stop, which was necessitated by the wholesale transformation of palatal stops into palatal affricates before *i*, may have been due to an archaizing trend in the spoken language. This archaizing retention of the initial may have influenced the subsequent development of the final: *tiak* > *tiau*. The last stage of the suggested transition — the splitting of *tiau* into *te-iou* — could well have been prompted by the fact that the verb 115. *iou* is functionally equivalent to the combination of a verb and the complement which is discussed here. In other words, *te-iou* may well be the result of a popular etymology based on the functional identity of *iou* and this particular verb-complement expression. A similar case has been described by Demiéville, who suggests that 116. *mei-iou* may be a two-syllabic representation of 1111. *wu*, which derives from Ancient Chinese *miu*, and that this splitting was due to an archaizing trend in the spoken language.⁹⁴)

The verb complement 355. *ko* denotes a one-time occurrence normally, but not always, in the past. Examples are 1112. *tha lai-ko tser °so!*? 'do you mean to say that he has been here before!'; 1113. *la-pen su ngo khan-ko* 'I did once read that book',

'to put on clothes': 1104. *tshuan-tau i-fu* 'to put on clothes and wear them'; compare also 1056. *kian-khi* 'to pick up' (punctual event) and 1105. *kian-tau* 'to pick up and keep' (steady state).

The written forms for the resultative and the durative complement *tau* do not appear to have been finally conventionalized. As a resultative complement *tau* may be represented by one of the characters 491., 823. or 1106., whereas the durative complement is normally represented by 491. The writer Pa Chin, who originates from Ch'engtu, regularly uses 823. and 1106. for the resultative complement, and 1106. for the durative complement.

The fact that a Ch'engtu speaker when conversing with speakers of Northern Mandarin dialects frequently accommodates his listener by substituting the form [tso] for the durative complement may indicate that he feels 1106. to be the etymologically correct form in this function.

⁹³) This form has been recorded in the compound 1109. *huei-kiau* 'to ruminate'. This compound is found in *Shu-yü* (*Han-hai ts'ung shu*), a study of idiomatic expressions in the Sich'uanese dialect written by Li Shī, who took his *tsin-shī* degree in 1442. Li Shī equates the pronunciation of 1108. with that of 1110. *kiau* < Ancient Chinese *ts'iau* (*op. cit.*, p. 15 b).

⁹⁴) P. Demiéville. *Archaismes de prononciation en chinois vulgaire*, T'oung Pao, 40. (1950), p. 18.

and 1114. *ngi tshī-ko kuai-wei-ki °to!?* 'but, surely, you did eat shredded chicken with hot paprika sauce once, didn't you!?'.

The adverb *tshong-lai* 'before' often occurs in negated sentences containing the complement *ko*: 1115. *ngo tshong-lai mei-iou khan-ko lang-ko ta li thau-tsī* 'I have never seen such large peaches before'; 1116. *ngi tshong-lai mei-iou ta-ko tha* 'you have never beaten him once'.

This complement may also be used with verbs referring to a future action and is then best translated by 'once more; a second time; all over again': 1117. *tse-hi i-fu tu iau hi-ko* 'these clothes will have to be washed all over again'; 1118. *ngo ten i-ha ke ngi hie-ko* 'I'll write it out once more for you in a moment' and 1119. *khong-pa hai iau ta-ko, ten i-ha* 'I am afraid I'll have to do this knitting all over again later'.

The complement *ko-la* stresses the fact that the action denoted by the verb has *already* taken place: 1120. *ngo-men tshī-°ko-la u-fan* 'we have already had our lunch', and 1121. *sa-ko-la* 'it's already finished'.

The complement *li* is used with verbs followed by emphatically stressed objects or objects modified by emphatically stressed attributes. Examples are 1122. *ngi tshuan-li °sa-tsī i-fu?* 'what on earth are you wearing!?'; 1123. *ngi tai-li °sa-tsī mau-er?*⁹⁵⁾ 'what an odd-looking old hat you are wearing!'; 1125. *tha so-li °in-uen* 'he is speaking English'; 1126. *ngi kang-tshai so-li °sa-tsī?* 'what were you saying just now?'.⁹⁶⁾

In all the instances of this construction the verb denotes an action or an event which has just been or at the time of speaking is under the direct observation of the speaker.

The verb complement 123. *la* may be added to verbs, in which case it denotes completion of action, and to certain comparative adjectives, in which case it denotes the attainment of the status expressed by the adjective.

On the whole the function of *la* in Sīch'uanese does not appear to differ significantly from that of the corresponding Pekinese form *le*.⁹⁷⁾

One minor difference obtains in the fact that in Pekinese verb-object expressions the verb complement *le* is normally restricted to such verbs as are followed by

⁹⁵⁾ Contrast 1124. *mau-tsī* 'hat; cap' and *mau-er* 'odd-looking old hat'. This is one of the very few instances where the noun suffix *er* carries a strong deprecatory connotation.

⁹⁶⁾ This type of construction resembles the Pekinese construction with *shyh . . . de*, which is employed to render a particular part of the predicate emphatic, as in *woo shyh tzuoh huooche lai de* 'I came here by train'. Such a sentence may in Pekinese be subjected to the following variations: *woo shyh tzuoh de huooche* and *woo tzuoh de huooche*; the latter of which is apparently structurally identical with our examples above.

In a few instances within the corpus, the verb to which *li* functions as a complement carries emphatic stress: 1127. *ngi °so-li pu-khie °to!?* 'but, surely, you did say that you wouldn't go there, didn't you!?', and 1128. *ngi tsī °so-li!* 'you only say so [without meaning anything with it]'. Elsewhere such verb expressions have only been found in conjunction with emphatically stressed objects. In this respect the Sīch'uanese construction appears to be different from the Pekinese construction described above, by means of which any part of the predicate may be rendered emphatic.

⁹⁷⁾ For Pekinese *le* see Chao Yuan Ren. *Mandarin Primer*, p. 193—194.

'quantified' objects,⁹⁸) whereas the same restriction is not present in Sich'uanese, as is shown by the following sentences: 1129. *tha hian-tsai kie-la khin* 'he has got married now', and 1130. *tha si-la ta-kia kwei-fan* 'she has violated the rules laid down for ladies of great families'.

The use of *la* with verbs denoting appearance and disappearance has been described above.

The various functions of the suffix 27. *li* will be discussed below.

Preverbs.

Preverbs immediately precede verbs. Forms functioning as preverbs may be bound or otherwise free. Examples of otherwise free preverbs are the first verbs in the following sentences: 1131. *ngi tsen hwei so hua* 'you certainly know how to express yourself'; 1132. *ngi len pu len iou-iong?* 'can you swim?'; 1133. *ngo pu hiang khie* 'I don't feel like going there', and 1134. *tha pu khen kau-su ngo °so!?* 'so he isn't willing to tell me, is that it!'. When such otherwise free forms function as preverbs to a following verb the resultant expression may be best analysed into a verb-object expression. The function of such preverbs does not differ from that of the corresponding Pekinese forms. Here, therefore, the discussion will be limited to the following forms: 783. *iau* 'shall, will'; 1006. *pu te* 'won't'; 492. *tsai* 'is [V]-ing'; 1096. *kin-tau* 'keep on [V]-ing all the time'; 1135. *ku-tau* 'force oneself to'; 828. *pi*, 829. *tso*, 1136. *ngai* and 830. *tsau*, which forms denote that the subject of the sentence undergoes rather than performs the action denoted by the verb.

The preverb 783. *iau* expresses either volition or futurity, as in 1137. *ngo ie iau khie* 'I want to go there too', and 1138. *tha iau sang sen khie* 'he'll be travelling up to the provincial capital'. The negative counterpart of *iau* as a marker of futurity is 1006. *pu-te* 'won't'.⁹⁹) Examples are 1139. *tha pu te lai* 'he won't come'; 1140. *tha pu te tsai ma-fan ngi la* 'he won't ever trouble you again', and 1141. *tha pu te so sa-tsi* 'he won't say anything'. This preverb may also be included in A-no-A questions, as in the following sentences: 1142. *te pu te lo-iu?* 'is it going to rain?'.

The preverb 492. *tsai* denotes progression of action. Examples are 1143. *ngi-men tsai so ngo °so!?* 'so you are talking about me, are you?'; 1144. *ngi tsai so hi °sa-tsi?* 'what are you talking about?'; 1145. *ngo tsai pa tong-hi ke ngi li-hau* 'I am putting the things in order for you'; 982. *pa-pa tsai han ngo la* 'daddy is calling me now';

⁹⁸) A 'quantified' object is 'an object containing a quantity word (including the case of 'one', as *ig. i-baa*, etc.)'. Quoted from Chao Yuan Ren, *Mandarin Primer*, p. 160.

⁹⁹) Kao Ming-k'ai, who in his *Han-yü yü-fa lun* (Discussions on Chinese grammar) and elsewhere (*The Expression of Volition in Chinese Grammar*, *Yenching Journal* 32 (1947)) deals extensively with the function of the preverb *iau* as an expression of volition and futurity, fails to mention the important fact that *iau* in the latter function is never negated. In other words, the negated form *pu iau* means either 'does not want' or 'must not'. Northern Mandarin does not appear to possess a preverb which unambiguously negates the preverb *iau* when used as a marker of futurity. There are, of course, other means of expressing, in Northern Mandarin, what in Sich'uanese is best expressed by the preverb 1006. *pu-te*, as is shown by the following examples: *ta mingtian bwu chiuu* 'he won't go there tomorrow' and *ta bwu chiuu le* 'he won't go there any more — he has given up the idea of going there'.

1146. *ngi iou tsai fa-thou la* 'now you are shivering again', and 1147. *ngi iou tsai to-tsuei* 'now you are gossiping again'. The preverb may be modified by the adverb *tsen* 'just', as in 1148. *ngo-men tsen tsai so ngi* 'we were just talking about you'. The preverb *tsai* is never found with verbs followed by the durative complement 491. *tau*.

The preverb 1096. *kin-tau* is found in 1149. *tha kin-tau hou ngo* 'he keeps on yelling at me all the time'; 1150. *tha kin-tau tshī* 'he keeps on eating all the time', and 1151. *ngi kin-tau khu sa-tsī?* 'why do you keep on crying all the time?'.

The form 1136. *ku-tau*, which also occurs as a linkverb (see sentence 378.), has been found as a preverb in 1152. *tha ku-tau tshī* 'he forces himself to eat'.

The preverbs 828. *pi*, 829. *tso*, 1137. *ngai* and 830. *tsau* may be exemplified by the following sentences: 1153. *i-ko hiau-ua-ua pi ngian-tau la* 'a child has been run over'; 1154. *liang-ko thu-fei tu pi khiang-pi la* 'the two robbers were both executed by shooting'; 1155. *ngi tso ngau-tau la mo-iou?* 'were you bitten?'; 1156. *ngo ngai ma la* 'I was scolded' and 1157. *tha-men tu tsau khiang la* 'they were all robbed'.¹⁰⁰⁾

FUNCTIONAL VARIATION AND AMBIGUITY

It has been repeatedly pointed out above that certain forms may be subjected to a great deal of functional variation and that this may give rise to structural ambiguity. I shall here discuss the most important of these forms and such cases of ambiguity as may be conditioned by their functional variation.

The form *li* functions

(a) as a suffix in non-comparative adjectival expressions, as in 256. *hi-ua-ua-li* 'muddy; wet' (see examples 257.—272.);

(b) as a subordinating intra-relational particle, as in 684. *ngi so li la-ko zen* 'the man you were talking about';

(c) as a nominalizing suffix, as in *ta-li* 'something large; a large one' and 848. *tha sī-tshong-hi-pe-lai-li* 'he has come here from the North-West';

(d) as a suffix denoting possession, as in *ngo-li* 'mine';

(e) as a fusion of the adjectival suffix *li* and the intra-relational particle *li*, as in 709. *man-ke-ke-li zen* 'sluggish people';

(f) as a verb complement, as in 1122. *ngi tshuan li "sa-tsī i-fu?* 'what on earth are you wearing?'.

The nominalizing suffix *li* and the intra-relational particle *li* may occur in juxtaposition, as in 715. *la-tshe-tsī-li li ko-ko* 'the elder brother of the ricksha-puller';

Ambiguity may arise from the functional variation described sub (b) and (f) above, as in 688. *sī tha khiang li kuai ku-sī °so!?* 'do you mean to say that this is a lewd story told by him; do you mean to say that he was the one who was telling lewd stories!?'.

¹⁰⁰⁾ The form *tsau* has been found as a main verb, in 1158. *thin so lan-kin li uai-kue-zen tu tsau la* 'I am told that the foreigners in Nanking had a bad time'.

The form *te* functions

(a) as a transitive verb, 'to obtain; to receive; to get', as in 1159. *mei-iou te sa-tsi kie-ko* '[we] never got any result'; 1160. *ngo tsi te-la i-fong hin* 'I have only received one single letter', and 1161. *tha kie-kie te-la fei-pin* 'his elder sister has got TB';

(b) as a preverb, which is either negated — *pu te* '[it] won't' — or included in the question *te pu te?* 'is it going to . . .?' (see sentences 1139.—1142.);

(c) as a verb complement, denoting (i) ability, as in 216. *tsou-te* 'able to walk'; (ii) desirability, as in 1072. *ngi li tshen-i ngen-si hi-te* 'your shirt really ought to be washed'; (iii) possibility, as in 1074. *tse-hi kiun-tsi tshī-te so!?* 'do you mean to say that these mushrooms are edible!?!';

(d) as a potential infix, as in 1004. *sang-khie-te-tau* 'can get up there';

(e) as a phrase suffix, as in sentences 970.—973;

(f) as a subordinating intra-relational particle;

(g) as second constituent of the verbs 116. *mo-te* and *me-te* 'have not; there is not';

(h) as first constituent of the verb complement 479. *te-iou*.

The ambiguous sentence 167. *tha hie te hau* 'he does write well; he can write well' has been discussed above.

The form *ken* functions

(a) as a coordinating intra-relational particle, as in 727. *ngo ken tha* 'he and I', and 729. *ngi ken ngo liang-ko* 'you and I, the two of us';

(b) as a coverb='as', as in 812. *ngo ken tha liang-ko i-iang ta* 'I am of the same age as he is';

(c) as a coverb='with', as in 833. *ngo ken ko uai-kue-zen hio-la i-ngian li in-uen* 'Is studied English with a foreigner for a year';

(d) as a coverb='for', as in 850. *ngo ken ngi mai* 'I'll buy it for you';

(e) as a postverb='to', as in 928. *kie ken ngo* 'lend it to me';

(f) as second constituent of the form *la-ken*, which functions as a coverb or a linkverb (see below).

The functional variation described sub (a) and (c) above may result in ambiguity, as in 1162. *tha ken ngo liang-ko khie la* 'he and I both went there; he went there with me'; the ambiguity does not obtain when this sentence is negated: *tha mei-iou ken ngo liang-ko khie* 'he didn't go there with me': *tha ken ngo liang-ko mei-iou khie* 'he and I didn't go there'.

The form *ke* functions

(a) as a transitive verb, as in 281. *ke ngo* 'give it to me'. The resultant expression may be included as the first constituent of a larger verb-object expression, as in 282. *ke ngo liang-ko* 'give me two [of them]'. As a main verb *ke* may be followed by a postverb phrase containing one of the postverbs *ken* or *ke* 'to';

(b) as a linkverb, as in 380. *ngo ke ngi khan* 'I'll let you have a look';

(c) as a coverb='to' or 'from', as in 851. *kie-kie ke tha la la* 'my elder sister took it from him', and 853. *ngo pu "ke ngi liang-ko so hua* 'I won't speak to you';

(d) as a coverb='as', as in 813. *kie-kie ke ngo liang-ko i-iang-li kau-hin* 'my elder sister is as happy as I am';

(e) as a coverb='with', as in 834. *tha li ko-ko pen-lai ke ngo liang-ko tsu tsai i-khi* 'his elder brother used to stay together with me';

(f) as a coverb='by', as in 862. *ngi ke la-ko ta te lang-ko li-hai?* 'by whom were you beaten up so badly?';

(g) as a postverb='to', as in 926. *ngo song ke ngi* 'I give it to you'.

The fact that *ke* may function both as a linkverb and a coverb gives rise to the following cases of ambiguity: 383. *ngo ke tha-men khan-tau la* 'I showed it to them; I was seen by them'; 856. *ngo ke ngi khan-khan* 'I'll let you have a quick look at it; I'll have a quick look for you'.

The form *pang* functions

(a) as a transitive verb, as in *ngo pang ngi* 'I'll help you'; this form may also be included in the verb-object expression *pang-mang*, which may enter into the following constructions: 1163. *ngo pang-mang ngi* 'I'll help you', and *ngo pang ngi li mang* 'I'll help you';

(b) as a linkverb, as in 849. *ngo pang ngi tsu* 'I'll help you do it';

(c) as a coverb='for', as in 849. *ngo pang ngi tsu* 'I'll do it for you';

(d) as a coverb='with', as in 857. *ngo pang ngi liang-ko pi-khi ngo iau ta-tian* 'comparing our ages I find that I am slightly older than you';

(e) as a postverb='to', as in 930. *la pang ngo* 'give it to me'; in this function *pang* is restricted to the verb *la*;

(f) as second constituent of the form *la-pang*, which functions as a linkverb and as a coverb (see below).

The apparent ambiguity described sub (b) and (c) above may be eliminated by contrasting stress patterns, since the linkverb normally receives stronger stress than the coverb.

The forms *la-pang* and *la-ken* function

(a) as linkverbs, as in 381. *la-pang ngo khan* 'let me have a look', and 382. *pu iau la-ken hiau-ua-ua khan-tau* 'you mustn't let the children see this';

(b) as coverbs='by', as in 859. *hiau-ua-ua la-pang uai-kue-zen la-khie la* 'the children were snatched away by foreigners', and 861. *tha-men la-ken thu-fei khiang-kuang la* 'everything they had was taken by robbers';

(c) as combinations of the main verb *la* and the postverbs *ken* and *pang* (see these forms above).

For instances of ambiguity see sentences 383., 384. and 860.

The form *tsai* functions

(a) as a transitive verb, as in 970. *tha tsai tser te* 'he is here';

(b) as a coverb='in', as in 839. *tha tsai pau-kue-si tsu-la pan-ngian la* 'he has been living in [the monastery] Pao-kuo-si for half a year now';

(c) as a coverb='to', as in 842. *ngi tsai la-li khie?* 'where are you going?'

(d) as a postverb='in', as in 904. *tha sui tsai tshuang-sang te* 'he is lying down on the bed';

(e) as a preverb, as in 1143. *ngi-men tsai so ngo °so!?* 'so you are talking about me, are you?'.

The form *iou* and its negated forms *mei-iou*, *mo-iou*, *mo-te* and *me-te* function

(a) as main verbs of comment-topic predications, as in 466. *iou zen* 'there is someone here'; 468. *me-te iau-kuai te* 'there just aren't any witches'; 469. *uai-thou iou zen* 'there is someone outside', and 472. *ngo sen-sang iou khian* 'I have got some money on me';

(b) as linkverbs, as in 388. *iou zen so hua* 'somebody is talking', and 389. *me-te zen lai te* 'nobody is coming';

(c) as coverbs='as', as in 797. *tha iou ngi ta so!?* 'do you mean to say that he is as old as you are!?', and 798. *tha me-te ngi liang-ko ta* 'he isn't as old as you are';

(d) as preverbs to certain types of complex adjectival expressions, as in 807. *tha iou lang-ko lau °so!?* 'do you mean to say that he is as old as all that!?', and 811. *me-te hen ta* 'it isn't particularly large'.

The negated forms function as negative adverbs, as in 503. *ngo sen-sang mei-iou tai-te-iou khian te* 'I haven't got any money on me'.

The form *me-te* has been found as a resultative complement, in 1164. *hua-sen-kiang ie thsi-me-te la* 'we have finished all the peanut-butter too'.

The forms *mei-iou*, *mo-iou* and *me-te* may be included in measure expressions functioning as durative complements, as in 1165. *tha fu-khin si-la me-te hau-kiou* 'his father died not very long ago', and 1166. *tha tsou-la hai me-te liang-ko iue* 'he left less than two months ago'.

1. 大 2. 這塊大 3. 比你大 4. 沒得你大 5. 大
 三歲 6. 大得多 7. 很大 8. 多大的 9. 大我三
 歲 10. 小 11. 高 12. 他小我一歲 13. 他高我一寸
 14. 矮 15. 他矮我一寸 16. 跟 17. 同 18. 和 19. 還是
 20. 或者 21. 爸爸媽媽 22. 醬油海椒 23. 大不大
 24. 大的跟小的 25. 大的○小的 26. 大小 27. 的
 28. 我爸爸 29. 慢慢走 30. 來看你那個 31. 我的
 爸爸 32. 來看你的人 33. 得 34. 長那麼個多 35.
 扯得一地都是 36. 用不來筷子 37. 洗不得胰子
 38. 不要理他 39. 拉車子 40. 華西大學 41. 打屁蟲 42. 讀書人 43. 讀書
 的人 44. 偷油婆 45. 巴壁虎兒 46. 老婆 47. 老婆
 子 48. 婆婆 49. 婆娘 50. 巴倒 51. 鍋巴 52. 巴鍋
 53. 飯巴不巴鍋 54. 壁頭 55. 隔壁 56. 老虎 57. 兒
 58. 咧 59. 哩 60. 怎個咧 61. 那麼個哩 62. 何必咧
 63. 麼 64. 嗎 65. 哉 66. 你不舒服麼 67. 他不去了
 嗎 68. 你坐倒麼 69. 你去嗎 70. 你不曉得○ 71.
 你已經有了○ 72. 多好看的○ 73. 這是你的○
 74. 那根本就不可曉得○ 75. 我只好跑去勸他們
 兩個哉 76. 是不是啊 77. 他不來了, 他不來○ 78.
 對不對啊 79. 該是好 80. 你有没有麼 81. 他好了
 沒有嗎 82. 今天禮拜五 83. 這個三塊錢 84. 他已
 經三歲○ 85. 今天才十號 86. 這陣剛剛兩點鐘
 87. 是 88. 今天不是得禮拜五 89. 太不英文了 90.
 他太道德很了 91. 他土得要命 92. 比 93. 多×
 94. 多×的 95. 他比你× 96. 他多×的 97. 多嘴
 98. 吃得 99. 怕冷 100. 有錢 101. 想到上海去 102. 走
 得快 103. 他走得多快的 104. 好 105. 那麼個 106. 那
 個 107. 那麼個畜○他 108. 好高○那個人 109. 我們
 這陣去也可以 110. 你明天去好一點 111. 你該多吃
 點牛奶才對 112. 最好馬上回去 113. 你最好不要理

他 114. 比 0 115. 有 116. 沒有 117. 沒得 118. 跟 119.
 像 120. 離 121. 隔 122. 走 123. 了 124. 他好了 125. 前
 頭長了那麼個多 126. 我們又老了一年 127. 我們多
 了一個人 128. 少了一塊錢 129. 短了那麼個多 130.
 倒 131. 累 132. 冷 133. 涼 134. 我累倒了 135. 我冷倒
 了 136. 我涼倒了 137. 把我累倒了 138. 把我冷倒了
 139. 他眼睛瞎了 140. 他耳朵聾了 141. 姐姐大我三歲
 142. 他高我那麼個多 143. 他比我大三歲 144. 他長我
 六歲 145. 極了 146. 很了 147. 太 148. 他太胖很了
 149. 累很了就睡不着覺 150. 冷很了就不好吃 151. 很
 152. 我累得很 153. 娃娃髒得不像個樣子 154. 我累得
 扭都扭不動 155. 他懶得連衣服都不能自己穿 156.
 多 157. 少 158. 早 159. 晚 160. 要 161. 他的父親比 0
 我的早死了兩年 162. 我比你多吃了兩碗 163. 他請
 得快 164. 他寫的好 165. 他寫的好寫的不好 166. 他
 寫的好不好 167. 他寫得好 168. 他寫的對 169. 他寫
 得對 170. 不 171. 他比你寫得好 172. 他沒得你寫得
 好 173. 他寫得好得多 174. 他寫得非常之好 175. 他
 寫得太好很了 176. 並不 177. 不大 178. 不多為 179.
 他不大漂亮 180. 我不多為舒服 181. 最為 182. 乖
 183. 歪 184. 笨 185. 悻 186. 高大 187. 雪白 188. 懶墮
 189. 熟活 190. 吝嗇 191. 奇怪 192. 刻薄 193. 疲乏 194.
 希罕 195. 相因 196. 人 197. 嚇人 198. 笑人 199. 焦
 人 200. 累人 201. 悶人 202. 膩人 203. 觸人 204. 醉人
 205. 可愛 206. 可憐 207. 可以 208. 可靠 209. 可怕 210.
 和氣 211. 客氣 212. 寶氣 213. 神氣 214. 俗氣 215. 吃
 得 216. 走得 217. 多嘴 218. 多事 219. 好看 220. 好吃
 221. 難看 222. 難吃 223. 經用 224. 經使 225. 經髒 226.
 經吃 227. 經穿 228. 用心 229. 用功 230. 得意 231. 得
 行 232. 刀嘴 233. 徹底 234. 中用 235. 愛 236. 怕 237.
 想 238. 飛快 239. 飛辣 240. 稀爛 241. 0 白 242. 0 黑

243. 〇 濕 244. 〇 鹹 245. 〇 苦 246. 〇 甜 247. 綁 緊 248.
 綁 硬 249. 〇 臭 250. 〇 香 251. 通 紅 252. 外 頭 〇 黑
 253. 這 個 菜 多 辣 的 254. 他 的 嘴 巴 多 大 的 255. 他 的 法
 文 多 好 的 256. 稀 溜 溜 的 257. 油 〇 〇 的 258. 悻 乖
 乖 的 259. 冷 淒 淒 的 260. 慢 急 急 的 261. 慢 格 格 的
 262. 矮 屈 屈 的 263. 矮 矮 矮 的 264. 死 板 板 的 265. 直 〇
 〇 的 266. 嘴 巴 巴 的 267. 乾 乾 淨 淨 的 268. 大 大 方 方
 的 269. 糊 裡 糊 塗 的 270. 哦 哩 咕 嚕 的 271. 古 裡 古 怪
 的 272. 又 高 又 大 273. 不 冷 不 熱 274. 到 大 不 大 的
 275. 不 是 得 276. 他 打 我 277. 他 不 理 我 278. 我 都 見 過
 他 們 279. 二 天 娃 娃 學 你 兩 個 280. 給 我 281. 給 我 兩
 個 282. 你 去 過 上 海 沒 得 283. 你 睡 高 頭 〇 底 下 284.
 我 切 不 來 這 種 刀 285. 你 蓋 了 鋪 蓋 沒 得 286. 我 洗 不
 來 冷 水 臉 287. 他 一 天 聯 了 三 件 藍 布 衫 兒 288. 他 橫 路
 路 頭 289. 他 來 了 三 天 了 290. 你 哭 味 子 291. 你 笑 我
 味 子 292. 把 293. 拿 跟 294. 他 打 爛 了 這 個 杯 子 295.
 這 個 杯 子 他 也 打 爛 了 296. 他 這 個 杯 子 也 打 爛 了
 297. 他 把 這 個 杯 子 打 爛 了 298. 這 個 杯 子 拿 跟 他 打 爛
 了 299. 你 好 生 看 看 這 個 東 西 300. 這 個 東 西 你 好 生
 看 看 301. 你 這 個 東 西 好 生 看 看 302. 你 把 這 個 東 西
 好 生 看 看 303. 他 看 到 我 了 304. 我 他 看 到 了 305. 他
 把 我 看 到 了 306. 我 拿 跟 他 看 到 了 307. 我 看 不 來 這
 本 小 說 308. 這 本 小 說 我 看 不 來 309. 我 這 本 小 說 也
 看 不 來 310. 他 看 到 我 得 311. 他 把 我 看 到 得 312. 我
 見 不 得 他 那 種 人 313. 他 那 種 人 我 見 不 得 314. 給 我
 那 兩 個 315. 你 給 我 兩 個 316. 你 把 那 兩 個 給 給 我
 317. 你 給 我 那 兩 個 318. 那 兩 個 你 給 我 319. 你 那 兩 個
 給 我 320. 你 把 那 兩 個 給 給 我 321. 我 教 他 唱 過 歌
 322. 我 吃 筴 子 323. 我 用 筴 子 吃 324. 我 吃 小 碗 325. 我
 吃 長 麵 326. 這 件 一 定 要 洗 胰 子 327. 這 件 一 定 要 用
 胰 子 洗 328. 他 喜 歡 洗 冷 水 臉 329. 他 喜 歡 用 冷 水 洗

臉 331.你把我恨倒做味子 332.他們把你看倒了
 333.我看過這本書 334.這本書我看過 335.他味子都
 不說 336.我味子地方都沒有去過 337.我那個都不
 要 338.都 339.也 340.他都不說味子 341.我一塊錢
 都沒得 342.我一個都沒有賣過 343.我只有一塊錢
 344.你才吃了一碗飯 345.我天不怕地不怕,只怕四川
 人說官話 346.我見過他 347.他見過我 348.他我見
 過他哥哥我還沒見過 349.你今天看書看得太多很
 了 350.我走路走多了 351.走了三個學生兒 352.學
 生兒走了 353.我聽他唱歌 354.我教他唱歌 355.過
 356.我聽過他唱歌 357.教 358.叫 359.喊 360.令 361.
 使 362.讓 363.准 364.勸 365.請 366.託 367.倒 368.
 0倒 369.估倒 370.拿幫 371.給 372.該 373.他陰倒喊
 他女人拿去當了 374.爸爸喊他來過 375.他令人發
 氣 376.我從來使你失望過 377.他已經托人去做
 過媒了 378.不要估倒他吃 379.他0倒我去 380.我
 給你看 381.拿幫我看 382.不要拿跟小娃娃看倒
 383.我給他們看到了 384.他拿跟小娃娃看到了 385.
 你勸他嘛 386.我教過他 387.喊他 388.有人說話
 389.沒得人來得 390.有一個嘉定老幾才說得嘔人
 391.我們有話說 392.他們家裡沒得飯吃得 393.我有
 事做 394.是我把你耽擱 395.是他父親不要他去
 396.是你告訴他 397.說是他父親死了 398.該你發
 399.該我付錢 400.我勸你不要請他到這裡來 401.他
 是我一個好朋友 402.這塊是我的 403.我的是大的
 404.我的東西這是 405.是他的東西那是 406.這 407.
 那 408.各 409.個 410.各給各的 411.各吃各的 412.
 我也要個 413.大的是我的 414.我的是好的 415.那
 個是你父親 416.你父親是那個 417.不是 418.這個
 不是得他的 419.不是得我說的 420.他們不是西藏
 人 421.不是他 422.不是你就是他 423.才 424.只

425. 還 426. 就 427. 盡 428. 他也是 429. 你才是 430. 他
 還是你的姐姐 431. 就是我的 432. 只是我 433. 這些
 盡是他的 434. 一地都是些水 435. 一臉都是口水
 436. 我倒不跟他兩個是好朋友 437. 來 438. 去 439. 走
 440. 出 441. 出現 442. 不見 443. 掉 444. 死 445. 來了個
 你 446. 中國出了一個毛澤東 447. 來了客了 448.
 走了多少人 449. 只來了兩個 450. 掉了個扣子 451.
 樂山不曉得死了多少人 452. 那邊牛來了兩個 453.
 出血 454. 生瘡 455. 出汗 456. 長虱子 457. 我腳板兒
 上走起泡兒 458. 他把腦殼碰出血了 459. 嘴巴口頭
 出血 460. 他手板兒上生疔瘡 461. 你腳板兒上生過
 凍疤兒 462. 落雨 463. 下雪 464. 出太陽 465. 今天出
 太陽 466. 有人 467. 有比這個相因一點的嗎 468. 沒
 有妖怪得 469. 外頭有人 470. 口頭沒得人得 471. 娥
 娟山上有老虎 472. 我身上有錢 473. 華西後渠有個
 協和中學 474. 我們家裡有這本書 475. 大的也有
 476. 紅油餃子有 477. 有錢 478. 身上有錢 479. 得有
 480. 帶得有錢 481. 身上帶得有錢 482. 我身上帶得有
 錢得 483. 桌子上擺得有茶 484. 花園口頭種得有各
 種花 485. 家裡掛得有這張畫 486. 牆高頭寫得有字
 487. 茶擺到桌子上得 488. 他腦殼上戴得有帽子 489.
 姐姐桌子上擱得有他的像片 490. 他身上穿得有大有
 衣得 491. 倒 492. 在 493. 我不是睡倒 494. 娃娃不是
 在哭他在說話 495. 我們不是在說你 496. 我們沒有
 在做味子 497. 他沒有哭 498. 他還在哭沒有 499. 他
 不在家 500. 他沒有在家 501. 他沒有來 502. 上海我
 都沒去過 503. 我身上沒有帶得有錢得 504. 飯還沒
 有煮熟 505. 他硬是不做歸一 506. 不坐好不給你東
 西吃 507. 莫 508. 別 509. 不要 510. 莫忙 511. 莫亂說
 512. 別僅倒開 513. 不要說他 514. 我並不要 515. 他平
 時不大說話 516. 他不多為說話 517. 他到不 518. 我

不了 519.他頭髮多好看的 520.他父親多老的 521.
他哩脾氣很大 522.他們那兒一塊錢兩個 523.他們住
的地方棒客多 524.他姐姐脾氣大得要命 525.我味
口不好 526.我胃不舒服 527.你從來臉沒有那麼青
過 528.他樣子嚇人〇〇的 529.學生哩這些脾氣最
壞 530.他們兩個乘法不同 531.他一臉都是口水 532.我
一身都是些水 533.那個外縣人臉色一下變得多難
看的 534.他樣子變了 535.城裡頭死了很多 536.
鄉下出了很多謠言 537.大衣高頭掉了一個扣子
538.床底下攢出一條狗來 539.後門跑進一個賊娃子來
540.脛殼上長虱子 541.肚子〇頭生蟲 542.他腳板上
生凍疤 543.那些人我都認得 544.我都認得那些人
545.他那種人我最見不得 546.這個活路我幹了好幾
年了 547.這你都不曉得〇 548.那我不管 549.那我就是不
管 550.腳指姆兒上生凍疤最癢 551.我以為他是你
太太 552.你點倒我不曉得〇 553.他們點倒我罵他
們是光光 554.我從來覺得天氣沒有那麼壞過 555.
一個二個都說成都不對 556.他說成都人最〇的
557.聽說他多漂亮的 558.我最怕腳板兒上生凍疤兒
559.我那陣想到他是一番好心 560.我曉得他不愛我
了 561.你希罕他去〇 562.他們鬧得我一晚上都睡
不着覺 563.我冷得一身都發抖 564.娃娃吐我一臉
不是口水 565.他吐我一臉是口水 566.他把一腦殼給
我弄些捲捲 567.他把我一身都擦些泥巴 568.他把
我一身都擦些是 569.他把水弄得我到處都是些
570.些 571.他講的童話多好聽的 572.他看得出是個
好學生兒 573.他說不定明天來 574.我有一個時候
不舒服得很 575.他不曉得到那兒去了 576.我恐怕
完全要打過等一下兒 577.這個負責是真的 578.他
沒有那一次不給我們小娃娃帶禮物 579.你簡直沒
得規矩得越來越 580.他脾氣大得要命這陣間始

581. 你拿去嘛把那個 582. 咪子 583. 咪 584. 甚麼 585.
 那個 586. 誰 587. 那裡 588. 那兒 589. 幾 590. 多少
 591. 多少子 592. 好多 593. 怎個 594. 那麼個 595. 好
 596. 多 597. 好久 598. 多久 599. 何必 600. 你要咪子
 601. 你哭咪子 602. 做咪子 603. 你做咪子 604. 你吼他
 做咪子 605. 你說些咪子 606. 那是咪子 607. 咪子這
 是 608. 你為咪子不去 609. 咪子事 610. 你咪子事不
 去 611. 你咪子事哭 612. 咪子人 613. 咪塊 614. 你姓
 咪 615. 你姓咪, 我姓馬. 咪子馬, 騎馬. 咪子騎, 616. 那一
 個 617. 那個是他父親 618. 他父親是那個 619. 你說的
 那個 620. 你跟那個去了咧 621. 那個人 622. 那兩個人
 623. 誰個 624. 誰人 625. 幾個人 626. 幾歲 627. 你
 幾時來 628. 多少錢 629. 多少子人 630. 好多個 631.
 多少個 632. 你要多少個 633. 你來了多少次 634. 是
 怎個咧 635. 你怎個咧 636. 你怎個不說咧 637. 他那
 麼個咧 638. 是那麼個哩這是 639. 你那麼個不曉得
 咧 640. 他有多大 641. 你好久去 642. 你好久跟我說
 了哩 643. 你來了好久 644. 你何必馬上去哩 645. 你
 明天去後天去 646. 這個三塊〇四塊 647. 你的大〇
 小 648. 這個是三塊〇四塊 649. 你的是大的〇小的
 650. 我們走路〇坐車子 651. 你要大的〇小的 652. 你
 打的毛線衣是〇的〇間的 653. 你吃醉了〇那麼個
 654. 你未必把錢用完才舒服〇那麼個 655. 未必你把
 我也吃了才舒服〇那麼個 656. 你. 然倒我還怕你〇
 咪子 657. 你手乾不乾淨 658. 牛奶長不長胖 659. 你
 敢不敢進去 660. 你上不上來 661. 你上不上來得倒
 662. 這個是不是你的 663. 你多想看他的是不是 664.
 你是不是拿跟他看過 665. 有沒有 666. 有沒得 667.
 你有沒得錢得 668. 今天晚上有沒得客來得 669. 他
 們家裡有用人沒得 670. 客來了沒有 671. 你去過沒
 有 672. 你我到了沒得 673. 沒得很大 674. 他在不在

家 675 他在家沒有 676 娃娃在哭沒有 677 他在不在看書 678 你是不是在工作 679 看不看得清楚
680 你看得清楚你看不清楚 681 他帶不帶得有大衣
682 你帶得有錢沒得 683 他講的故事 684 你說的那個人
685 你借跟我的那本書 686 他講的笑話 687 他穿的紅衣服
688 是他講的怪事故 689 桌子上
690 家裡 691 那邊 692 外面 693 這個人 694 說話那個人
695 在床上睡倒那個人 696 桌子上那本書
697 那邊那個房子 698 做事的人 699 儘倒說的人
700 花園裡的菜 701 那邊的人 702 有錢人 703 有錢的人
704 父親的錢 705 我的錢 706 我內人 707 大的房子
708 多大的房子 709 慢格格的人 710 到熱不熱的水
711 不冷不熱的水 712 他的房子多大的
713 多愛要的的人 714 多好吃的的人 715 拉車子的哥哥
716 他懶得很 717 他胖得漂亮 718 他歪得連他自己的爸爸都不敢說他
719 寫得好 720 寫得多好的 721 畫得好的人
722 畫得多好的的人 723 你把這兩個字寫得多好的
724 又又 725 也也 726 越越
727 我跟他 728 爸爸同媽媽 729 你跟我兩個
730 你比他兩個對到那兒去 731 他沒得你兩個大
732 你拿跟我兩個看 733 我跟他兩個寫信 734 我不給你兩個說話
735 你幫我兩個說話 736 二天小娃娃學你兩個
737 他要幫你兩個的忙 738 又相因又好 739 越大越好
740 高大 741 矮胖 742 中國小娃娃跪倒吃東西
743 我晚上睡倒看小說 744 他脛倒地下儘倒喊
745 他住倒廟子 746 我晚上平時開窗子睡
747 外國人不脫衣服睡 748 他不穿衣服睡
749 你瞎個眼睛我 750 他蹠起腳走 751 一兩個
752 三五天 753 兩塊錢 754 很多菜 755 個大的
756 個蘋果 757 那麼個多 758 那麼多 759 那麼多

760 多麼多 761 也麼多 762 這麼多 763 這們多 764
那麼個多的人 765 他要個大的 766 我也要個 767
人善被人欺馬善被人騎 768 路遙知馬力事久見人
心 769 財短仁義長 770 在幾十年前一個外縣人光頭光腦
的走到成都城城門兒洞側邊站倒不敢進去 771 等
了半天進去不敢不進去又捨不得只好找了一個過
路的人給他恭恭敬敬的作個揖說請問大爺那個大
門是那家的准不准我進去 772 那些人也動手打
得個落花流水 773 他光吃不做 774 我睡不成睡吃
不成吃 775 但是 776 他說了過後自己哈哈大笑但是
沒得一個人跟倒他笑 777 第二天早上我才把道理
想穿了但是糟都糟了 778 他本來是個窮光蛋但是
又要○有錢 779 他又老又醜 780 他也是老板也是
跑堂的 781 他把不把東西拿出去 782 給 783 要
784 英國根本比瑞典要小些 785 睡倒比坐倒要舒服
些 786 他比他姐姐大一個腦殼 787 前頭比後頭長
那麼個多 788 我比○你要小點 789 你要比我白些
790 他比他妹妹漂亮得多 791 那麼 792 那們 793 那
樣 794 這麼 795 這們 796 這樣 797 他有你大○
798 他沒得你那麼個大 799 他沒得他哥哥那麼個歪
800 他沒得你說的那麼個漂亮 801 這塊只有三寸寬
802 我有点不舒服 803 有点太大 804 那有味子稀奇
805 沒得味子好看 806 好 807 他有那麼個老○ 808
有這門大 809 你的有好大 810 那麼個老○他
811 沒得很大 812 我跟他兩個一樣大 813 姐姐跟我
兩個一樣的高興 814 他跟我兩個同樣高 815 我跟他兩
個一樣的 816 近 817 遠 818 你家裡隔這兒遠不遠
819 隔這兒有好遠 820 這裡走老南門有好遠 821 離
我們那兒隔得太遠很了 822 隔這兒有三里 823 到 824
從 825 幫 826 拿跟 827 拿幫 828 被 829 着 830 遭

831 拿 832 用 833 我跟個外國人學了一年的英文
 834 他的哥哥本來跟我兩個住在一起 835 我跟他兩
 個借了三塊錢 836 他跟我兩個都去了 837 我跟他兩
 個借了錢 838 借 839 他在報國寺住了半年了 840
 我從來沒有在黑市上做過生意 841 他〇城〇頭做
 事 842 你在那裡去 843 到這裡來 844 到那裡去
 845 他到這裡來跟我祖父擺龍門陣 846 你到這裡來
 做味子 847 你從那裡來 848 他是從西北來的 849
 我幫你做 850 我跟你買 851 姐姐給他拿了 852 你
 在跟那個寫信 853 我不給你兩個說話 854 你光是
 幫別人說話 855 我幫你受了很多罵 856 我給你看
 看 857 我幫你兩個叱起我要大點 858 這個花瓶拿跟
 那個打爛了 859 小娃娃拿幫外國人拿去了 860 你
 拿幫那個看倒了沒有 861 他們拿跟土匪搶光了 862 你
 給那個打得那麼個利害 863 他被汽車輾倒了 864
 我着蛇咬倒了 865 你被人打了你〇 866 我遭他們
 搶去了幾十塊錢 867 一個娃娃被輾倒了 868 他着
 咬倒了沒得 869 你拿味子東西揩臉 870 他用英文
 講 871 弟弟把書給我扯了 872 他把哥哥罵慘了
 873 不要把衣服坐綑了 874 爸爸把事情做拐了 875
 他把新衣服撕爛完了 876 他把我看倒 877 你把我
 手拿倒 878 把眼睛閉倒得 879 我馬上把茶端來
 880 狼狗把賊娃子嚇起跑走了 881 他把錢攬在包包口
 頭 882 他把太太丟在屋頭 883 他把汽油倒到一個
 酒瓶口頭去 884 他把他的所有的錢給給他兒子了
 885 他們把我看成日本人去了 886 他把婦女說成妓
 女去了 887 裁縫把衣領聯得太大了 888 他把眉毛
 畫得一個怪像 889 你把字寫得我看都看不懂 890 他
 把一臉都給我吐些口水 891 他把我氣倒了 892 你
 把他坐起來一點兒 893 把他睡倒床上得 894 他把

我簡直沒得辦法得 89 暈倒了 896 把魂都給我嚇
落了 897 把那個別針給我掉了 898 把手指姆兒給我
燙倒了 899 他忽然進來把我嚇一跳 900 請你關倒
把廚房的門 901 幫我把痰盂拿出來 902 他把新衣
服給我燙壞了 903 他坐在這兒得 904 他睡在床上
得 905 他僵倒地上得 906 他住倒我們屋頭得 907
1 得 908 成 909 為 910 他住在我們那兒得 911 娃娃
坐在他身上 912 我們住在一起 913 來跟我坐○一
堆 914 你住○這兒得○ 915 他的衣服巴倒身上得
916 巴壁虎兒巴倒牆上得 917 碗擺倒櫃子高頭得
918 瓶子擱倒廚房○頭得 919 你的帽子掛倒這兒得
○ 920 把箱子擱倒外頭得 921 碗在桌子上擺起得
922 牆上掛得有山水畫兒 923 他跑到城○頭去 924
他每天睡到天亮 925 給給他嘛 926 我送給你 927
你已經寄給他○ 928 借跟我 929 他沒有拿跟我
930 拿幫我 931 該拿幫你○ 932 假使 933 假如 934
若是 935 如果 936 譬如 937 就是 938 因為 939 既
然 940 我假使不去他就會生氣 941 我可以不去假
使是 942 譬如說 943 就是金子我也不要 944 就是
他自己請我我也不去 945 我因為今天不多為舒服
所以沒有來看你 946 也 947 就 948 我一看就曉得
是假的 949 他一來我們就吃飯 950 我把話一說完
倒大家就忍不住笑起來了 951 我再窮也不得問他要
錢 952 他再說我我也不管 953 再大一點就好 954
太遠很了我就走不得 955 你不喜歡打的話我們就
不打了 956 下雨的話我們就不去 957 他不快轉來
的話我們就攪不贏了 958 成都的時可能有七十萬
959 寫完倒過後出去要 960 回去了過後我一想這情
形不對 961 我吃完倒飯就來 962 大很了就不行
963 冷很了不好吃 964 我把飯吃完倒了 965 太大很

了 966 舊的不去新的不來 967 泥菩薩過河自身難保
 968 沒事就擺下兒龍門陣 969 沒事撈撈上喝茶
 970 他在這兒得 971 他睡倒得 972 把眼睛閉倒得
 973 他身上帶得有錢得 974 他頭髮立起得 975 沒得人得
 976 沒得人來得 977 大孩子今年幾歲了 978 已經三斤了
 979 我老了 980 他已經來了 981 忽然又來了兩個了
 982 爸爸在喊我了 983 我不行了 984 我不再開口了
 985 年紀也不少了 986 我不想打了 987 我沒得事了
 988 他來了 989 太大了 990 他們學生太愛鬧事了
 991 上來 992 上去 993 下來 994 下去 995 出來
 996 出去 997 進來 998 進去 999 起來 1000 起去
 1001 走得上去 1002 得倒 1003 不倒 1004 上去得倒
 1005 下來不倒 1006 不得 1007 進來不得 1008 吃多不得
 1009 走快不得 1010 笑起來 1011 唸下去 1012 送起去
 1013 做好 1014 嚇跑 1015 走開 1016 打倒 1017 他問起走了
 1018 把他們嚇起跑了 1019 攪掉 1020 攪忘 1021 攪好
 1022 弄掉 1023 弄大 1024 弄好 1025 打爛完了 1026 撕爛完了
 1027 嚇倒了 1028 氣倒了 1029 脹倒了 1030 我倒
 1031 背倒 1032 捉倒 1033 摸倒 1034 關倒 1035 蓋倒
 1036 閉倒 1037 塞倒 1038 鎖倒 1039 捆倒 1040 看倒
 1041 聽倒 1042 聞倒 1043 想倒 1044 起 1045 粘起
 1046 接起 1047 扣起 1048 連起 1049 捲起 1050 關起 1051 堆起
 1052 捆起 1053 掛起 1054 戴起 1055 抬起 1056 揀起
 1057 捻起 1058 披起 1059 穿起 1060 立起 1061 蹣起
 1062 倒起 1063 吊起 1064 橫起 1065 歪起 1066 你的帽子歪起得
 1067 橫起睡 1068 立起放 1069 燃起 1070 想起 1071 走不得
 1072 你的襯衣硬是洗得 1073 你硬是洗得漂 1074 這些苗子吃得
 1075 記得 1076 認得 1077 曉得 1078 覺得 1079 不見得
 1080 拿不出來 1081 看不清楚 1082 得來 1083 得起
 1084 我用不來筷子 1085

我坐不起頭等車 1086我買不到船票 1087站倒 1088
坐倒 1089睡倒 1090壓倒 1091看倒 1092恨倒 1093拿
倒 1094他坐倒得 1095站倒吃 1096睡倒看書 1097娃
娃儘倒哭 1098別儘倒說 1099他儘倒不來 1100逗
1101坐下 1102站起來 1103穿起衣服 1104穿倒衣服
1105揀倒 1106着 1107著 1108嚼 1109同嚼 1110瞧 1111
無 1112他來過這兒○ 1113那本書我看過 1114你吃
過怪味雞○ 1115我從來沒有看過那麼個大的桃子
1116你從來沒有打過他 1117這些衣服都要洗過 1118
我等一下給你寫過 1119恐怕還要打過等一下 1120
我們吃過了午飯 1121剃過了 1122你穿的哧子衣服
1123你戴的哧子帽兒 1124帽子 1125他說的英文 1126
你剛才說的哧子 1127你說的不去○ 1128你只說的
1129他現在結了親 1130他失了大家閨範 1131你真會
說話 1132你能不能游泳 1133我不想去 1134他不肯
告訴我○ 1135估倒 1136挨 1137我也要 1138他要
上省去 1139他不得來 1140他不得再麻煩你了 1141
他不得說哧子 1142得不得落雨 1143你們在說我○
1144你在說些哧子 1145我在把東西給你理好 1146你
又在發抖了 1147你又在多嘴 1148我們正在說你
1149他儘倒吼我 1150他儘倒吃 1151你儘倒哭哧子
1152他估倒吃 1153一個小娃娃被輾倒了 1154兩個土
匪都被槍斃了 1155你着咬倒了沒有 1156我挨罵了
1157他們都遭搶了 1158聽說南京的外國人都遭了
1159沒有得哧子結果 1160我只得了一封信 1161他姐
姐得了肺病 1162他跟我兩個去了 1163我幫忙你
1164花生醬也吃沒得了 1165他父親死了沒得好久
1166他走了還沒得兩個月

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